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ABSTRACT

The beginning of organized European cooperation in adult education was the focus of a research study. A brief review of earlier research was conducted. Study findings indicated that, after World War II, Europe was less influential in issues of real significance in the world, with the Soviet Union dominating Eastern Europe and the center of power shifting to the United States from Western Europe. From a cultural point of view, the war was catastrophic to Germany's heritage. Other Western European countries were also in desperate need of recovery. In May 1948, a Conference of the European Federalist Movement was held in The Hague. Its ideological foundation was a federal Europe. Two short-term goals were set: the foundation of a Council of Europe and a European Cultural Center (ECC). After failing to establish community centers, the ECC proposed an initiative for the European Bureau of Adult Education (EBAE). At its outset, EBAE intended to support European unification rather than adult education. However, a number of new national adult education associations were founded to promote activities at home and to join pan-European efforts, such as the Meeting Europe courses. The idea of furthering European unification by the means of the Meeting Europe courses was not a great success, but was noteworthy as an experiment in international education. (Appendixes include the EBAE Constitution and Meeting Europe programs. Contains 123 references.) (YLB)

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Timo Toiviainen

THE EARLY CONTRIBUTION OF ADULT EDUCATION TO THE EUROPEAN UNIFICATION PROCESS:

THE GENESIS OF THE EUROPEAN
BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION AND
"MEETING EUROPE" COURSES,
1950-1970

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Timo Toiviainen

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EUROPEAN UNIFICATION PROCESS: THE GENESIS OF THE
EUROPEAN BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION AND "MEETING
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This dissertation is dedicated to the life-work of such adult educators, women and men, as

Nita Barrow, Barbados

Paulo Freire, Brasil

Natalia Garirowska, Poland

Arthur Hely, New Zealand

Lilian Holt, Australia,

Myles Horton, USA

Raili Kilpi, Finland

Kosti Huuhka, Finland

Mary Opiyo, Kenya

Hwang Jong-Gon, South Korea

Erica Simon, France and

Roby Kidd, Canada

Preface

This study was accepted as a doctoral thesis on September 19, 1994 in partial fulfilment of the Ed. D. program requirements at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

Although the acknowledgements section records most of the special thanks I would like to express to various individuals and organizations, I would like to take the opportunity here to thank assistant professor Kari Nurmi, Ed.D., the head of the Department of Education at the University of Helsinki and Professor Seppo Kontiainen, Ph.D., for including my study in the Department's series of publications. In so doing, the Department demonstrates its willingness to participate in the current move towards an international orientation which, for various reasons, is gaining ground within academia.

Ismo Suksi, M.A., who has for many years been one of my colleagues in adult education work, has done the layout for this publication, for which I would like to express my sincerest gratitude.

Vantaa, May 9, 1995

THE EARLY CONTRIBUTION OF ADULT EDUCATION TO THE EUROPEAN UNIFICATION PROCESS: THE GENESIS OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION AND "MEETING EUROPE" COURSES, 1950-1970

By Timo Toivainen

ABSTRACT

Choosing the theme for this dissertation was based, to a great extent, on the fact revealed by bibliographical research that both the history of adult education and international adult education have been largely neglected in research. Since the theme chosen also indicates the role given to adult education in post-World War II Europe in its rebuilding, as well as its incipient unification process, the dissertation's topic fulfills the requirement of relevancy for a meaningful research project.

The major sub-themes covered in this study are the following:

- the state of Europe at the outset of the period considered in this study (Chapter IV: Post-World War II Europe: the Phoenix Rising from Its Ashes);
- the activities of the European Federalist Movement and the establishment of the European Bureau of Adult Education (Chapter V);
- the Meeting Europe courses (Chapter VI-VII); and
- the continuation of the course tradition in the form of the "Meeting in Finland Seminar" (Chapter VIII).

The emphasis of the treatment will be on the 44 Meeting Europe courses that were organized in different Western European countries in 1963-1970. The purpose of these courses was to cultivate internal support for the unification of Europe. Altogether, 1,200 participants attended the courses. To facilitate participation the European Bureau provided extensive sponsorship, which was possible because the Bureau's sponsoring bodies were also ready to finance the organization of those courses.

The European Bureau, headquartered in the Netherlands, functioned as the main organizer of the courses. These were set up in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden. The Bureau also operated in collaboration with national organizations in these countries, each of which joined the program for its own reasons.

The major findings of this study are the following:

- The European Bureau of Adult Education was not founded by diverse national umbrella organizations but by an outside body, the European Cultural Centre.
- Consequently, at its outset, the Bureau intended to support European unification rather than adult education.
- However, a number of new national adult education associations were founded in order to promote activities at home and to join pan-European efforts, such as the Meeting Europe courses.
- The European Bureau was ahead of its time. For example, it facilitated the dialogue and cooperation between Western and Eastern parts of Europe, and, by doing so, set the stage for political détente on the continent.

- The idea of furthering European unification by means of the Meeting Europe courses was not a great success but, as an experiment of international education, it deserves a place in the history of European adult education.

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This dissertation was written to fulfill part of the Ed.D. program requirements at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE). Since I studied at the OISE as a foreign student, my expenses were high. I have been able to manage these expenses only with the financial help of the Alfred Kordelin Foundation (Helsinki, Finland); my employer, the Finnish Adult Education Association (FAEA); OISE; and some of my relatives. It is my pleasure to use this opportunity to thank these organizations and individuals for their financial support. I thank Tapani Ranki, the President of the FAEA, and the other members of the FAEA board for granting me the leave of absence which made it possible for me to fulfill the mandatory one year residence requirement at the OISE.

Parts of my dissertation have been read by Professor Kosti Huuhka and Docent Christoffer Grönholm. I am grateful to them for their encouragement and for the valuable improvements they have suggested. I also thank the members of my Thesis Committee, Professors Budd L. Hall (Thesis Supervisor), Willard Brehaut and Alan M. Thomas (Internal Appraiser). I also thank Professors John Niemi (External Examiner/Appraiser) and David Wilson for agreeing to be members of the Final Oral Examination Committee and for their contributions in that task.

Since in my dissertation I have used a language which is not my own, I have had to rely on the help of the following individuals in particular: Kimmo Absetz, Margaret Gayfer, Nely Keinänen, Thuraya Khalil-Khoury, Marc Mazer, Sheila Weilder and Karen Yarmol-Franco. I warmly thank them all. I would like to emphasize, however, that I am alone responsible for the contents and language of my text.

In conclusion, I would like to thank my wife, Dr. Hillevi Toiviainen and my son Altsi, who have understood and encouraged my efforts to further my education.

Toronto, Ontario 19 September 1994.

Timo Toiviainen

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the early contribution of adult education to the European unification process. Special consideration is given to the genesis of the European Bureau of Adult Education and its "Meeting Europe" courses. The period of time examined covers the years 1950 to 1970.

The introduction consists of three major parts. First, *the grounds for choosing the theme* helps orient readers to the topic, so they can see the basic structure of the study as well as the research procedures applied. Further discussion of the underlying reasons for the research appears later.

The grounds for the theme can offer only a rough framework that is complemented and reinforced throughout the study. Therefore, part two presents *a chapter-by-chapter overview of the rest of the study*. In the search for a relevant approach to this analysis, two types of information have proved appropriate; both have been applied. Some data provided here serve as a descriptive background for the study. Thus, it is not repeated later, except where required by the context. Other data are used for analysis of the major areas of interest in this study given in subsequent chapters.

Mapping out the grounds for the study and surveying the sub-themes to be covered reveal, in part, *research problems* to be faced. More of them are introduced in part three of this introduction. In addition to treating research problems in this phase of the investigation, I deal with them again from a methodological point of view in Chapter III (Research Methods and Sources Used).

1. Grounds for Choosing the Theme

Taking as the point of departure the establishment in 1953-54 of the European Bureau of Adult Education (EBAE, also commonly referred to as the Bureau), one should note that European adult educators are celebrating the fortieth year of their or-

ganized cooperation in 1994. This period has been full of diverse activities and those involved have hardly been able to accomplish all of their professional aims. Indeed, the Western European adult education community has been so busy making its mark on the cultural history of the continent that none of its members has had time to investigate the movement's past. Neither has any outside body or person been sufficiently interested in studying this past by using any applicable research approach.

Consequently, there is no publication on the earliest phases of organized European cooperation in adult education. As the first regional adult education organization, the EBAE has a special place among international coordinating bodies. The theme of this thesis was chosen to fulfill two areas of research that have, until now, been ignored—the historical links of the EBAE and international adult education. Since the international field should be able to develop and better meet the needs of national bodies, this should be examined. My purpose in choosing the theme was to contribute to the historical research of European and, more broadly, international adult education. The theme has for me both scientific and practical aspects, as each theme of relevance should have.

To support my choice of the theme, I provide more evidence of the lack of existing research in Chapters II and III, where I review earlier research and the sources used. Willem Bax, Director of the EBAE, knows of the scant research interest in topics with links to the activities of the EBAE. Hence, he and some others in the present Bureau leadership have encouraged me to conduct this study. This encouragement played a decisive role at the outset of this study. Despite the non-scientific nature of this encouragement, it has been significant, and deserves to be mentioned here. Among other things, it reminds us that all research should have human linkages, as well as an ethical frame of reference.

Diverse sectors of society are full of topics that have not caught anyone's research interests, and the bulk of them will remain unexamined. This kind of reality reflects the fact that research cannot cover all topics. From the viewpoint of philosophy and values, not all topics deserve close investigation. Instead, different philosophies and values may provide a researcher, for example, with the means for choosing themes and methodolo-

gies for the study. The lack of research in any particular area may not be a sufficient reason for consideration, because the theme examined should be an important one.

To label potential research phenomena important or unimportant is, to a large extent, a subjective decision. In science, a researcher has to be prepared to openly present choices made and to support them. The unification of Europe, with its origins in the early 1950s, is the element that partly justifies the significance of this study. After the demise of the Soviet Union, and in the course of negotiations to expand the membership of the European Community, hardly any theme is more timely than the one chosen. The major political changes in Eastern and Western Europe have badly distorted the Europeans' sense of judgement. Probably a sense of timing has suffered the most because of different sorts of upheavals. For example, the starting point of major change is mistakenly thought to be the mid-1980s, instead of the early 1950s, when all the seeds of future developments were sown for Western Europe.

Current interest in European unification is, to a large extent, of a political and economic nature. It alone would not justify viewing the chosen theme as meaningful for adult education research. That justification arises from the planned contributory role of adult education in the unification process at its outset in the 1950s, as well as the possibility of contribution again in the 1990s, when conventional means of politics had proved insufficient to lead ordinary people to a new Europe created for them by the highest levels of multi-national policy makers.

The documented history of adult education indicates that people in positions of power usually have sought support for their policies from the field of adult education, especially in crisis situations.¹ And Europe is now in the deepest crisis since its recovery from World War II. The role reserved for adult education in contributing to the uni-

1 For more on the topic see, for example, *Adult Education in Crisis Situations*. Edited by Franz Pöggeler and Kalman Yaron. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991.

fication process in the 1950s and 1960s was that of a tool in the hands of those striving for a unified Europe. Examining the reactions by adult educators in different countries leads to the issue of using power over other people, and hardly anything in research could be more important than questions concerning the use of power. Through its reference to subordination of adult education to unification efforts, this study chooses not to remain indifferent, but to contribute research on the exercise of power. Doing so is not to take a stand for or against unification itself, but to study a subject that has been neglected to a large extent in research.

2. Overview of Sub-themes to be Covered

2.1. Review of Earlier Research

In their research guide for educators and trainers of adults,² Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson state, concerning historical inquiry, that "... all who do historical research are concerned with obtaining the best information available on the topic." Later, they note unequivocally that "Primary sources are the basic materials used in historical studies." They add that "These secondary or secondhand sources can be useful in familiarizing the researcher with the topic and in suggesting new areas for further study."³

Other writers (for example, Edward H. Carr⁴ and Henry Steele Commager),⁵ prefer to describe "the best information available" as facts. The relationship between historians and their facts is one of the central historiographical issues. Ongoing debates among scholars in academia arise from different schools of

2 Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults*. Malabar, Florida: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1984, pp. 72-73.

3 Ibid.

4 Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History?* The George Macaulay Trevelyan Lectures delivered at the University of Cambridge January-March 1961. Reprinted. New York: Vintage Books, pp. 3-37.

5 Henry Steele Commager, *The Nature and the Study of History*. Second printing. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1966, pp. 48-53.

thought. However, one of the few areas of agreement is the notion that "the facts" are not found in the body of earlier research, but in archival sources, that is, primary sources. Researchers have to base their documentation on archival sources as fully as possible. Since the availability of primary material varies from one topic to another, there cannot be any strict standard concerning the extent to which archival sources have to provide the information used.

Heavy emphasis on the use of primary sources may lead to a situation where the relative proportion of earlier research constitutes a smaller part of the data than in cases where other approaches and methodologies are followed. This can be applied to some extent to my study. Consequently, my review of earlier research will not be a long one. Instead my data will be reviewed in Chapter III.

2.2. Research Methods and Sources Used

Diverse scientific approaches and methodologies tend to include their own major principles to be followed, applied and respected. So does historical science. Therefore, I will first discuss the general principles characteristic of a historical approach and methodology in Chapter III. In this context, I also choose to deal with my academic education under the supervision of Professor Aira Kemiläinen (University of Jyväskylä, Finland). This education, no doubt, connects me to a certain tradition in historical science, namely that of Leopold von Ranke. In a methodological sense, I owe much to the Rankean orientation. Despite this link, I feel free to follow my own insights and not slavishly to copy Rankean formulas, however respected they might be.

The 1950-1970 period covered in my study indicates that the theme is part of contemporary history. To do research work in that area requires certain considerations that I will present after a general review of historical research. When dealing with contemporary history, I will pay special attention to the changing position, status and political role of Western Europe, because the interests and problems of my study arise from major changes in Western European history during the Cold War.

Professor Viljo Rasila (University of Tampere, Finland) has developed a set of "laws" of history. I regard his approach as both interesting and helpful for my study. Professor Rasila's frame of reference will be presented in Chapter III, and later on in Chapter IX, "Analyses and Reflections", I will return to these laws of history to assess to what extent they can contribute and clarify the phenomena examined in the study. No doubt Professor Rasila's frame of reference brings this study closer to the social sciences. This interdisciplinary element will be, I believe, of benefit to the study.

The latter part of Chapter III will be devoted to the presentation and analysis of primary sources. In addition, reference to the paucity of secondary sources, when discussing any of the key areas of this study, has to be made. In the analysis of sources, both qualitative and quantitative points of view will be included. While reviewing the sources used, I refer to the major difficulties that had to be overcome in the process of collecting data for the study.

An introduction to each of the major issues of this study will now be given under the sub-titles numbered 2.3. to 2.8. Thereafter, I will review the three remaining chapters of the study that, again, have another approach and, therefore, have to be reviewed in a different way.

2.3. Post-World War II Europe

The peace accord signed by the victors and the defeated party at the Palace of Luxembourg in Paris in April, 1947, divided Europe into two major camps. This action did not surprise anyone. As early as March, 1946, the former Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Winston Churchill, voiced the real intentions of the Western allied nations in a speech he gave in Fulton, Missouri, in the United States.

Many factors had, in the past, promoted a Eurocentric world view, not the least of which was imperialism. World War II, with all that followed, began to weaken this view. In issues of real significance in the world, Western Europe seemed less influential. Although the Soviet Union was badly crippled by the war, it dominated Eastern Europe. Another factor was the decisive shift in the centre of power from Europe to the United

States, on whom Western Europe became completely dependent economically and politically.

At this low point of Western European power, the colonial nations in Asia and Africa realized that their moment had come. One liberation movement after another raised its defiant flag, and colonialism began to crumble.

2.4. The Re-education of the Germans

From a cultural point of view, World War II was catastrophic to Germany's heritage. Considering German contributions to international culture, the German culture should have been able to claim dominance in pre-World War II Europe. For many years, the consequences of the war took away all German authority in cultural and educational issues. The view among the victors of the war was that the entire German people had to be re-educated. For that purpose, the traditional *Volkshochschule* institution was revived with the support of the Western Allied forces.

2.5. European Federalist Movement

In addition to Germany, other Western European countries were in desperate need of recovery. With this in mind, in May, 1948, a Conference of the European Federalist Movement was held in The Hague. Its ideological foundation was a federal Europe, and two short-term goals were set: the foundation of a Council of Europe and a European Cultural Centre. Shortly thereafter, the first goal was realized with the establishment of the Council of Europe in 1949.

Among the European federalists were adult educators such as Bob Schouten, the future director of the European Bureau of Adult Education. They, as well as the other activists in culture and education, continued their efforts to found the European Cultural Centre (E.C.C.), which opened in Geneva in October, 1950. From the very beginning, its first director, Denis de Rougemont, considered adult education an important part of the Federalist Movement and a responsibility of the Centre. His idea was to found community centres in the countries of Western Europe to act as centres for exchanging ideas about developing a new Europe.

However, the European Federalists soon recognized that the scale and nature of the two plans were very different. The founding of the *Volkshochschulen* was based on pre-war tradition, whereas the community centres had no predecessors. Consequently, the European Cultural Centre had to abandon the idea of founding the community centres.

2.6. Establishment of the European Bureau of Adult Education

After having failed to establish community centres, the European Cultural Centre introduced another plan. In May, 1953, the Centre proposed a comprehensive plan for organizing cooperation in European adult education. The initiative for starting official cooperation among countries was well-justified because, until that time, international contacts in Europe were ad hoc and based mainly on personal connections.

This initiative of the European Cultural Centre was, in fact, the genesis of the European Bureau of Adult Education that will, in its General Assembly in 1994, change its name to the European Association for the Education of Adults. The establishment of the EBAE took a large step closer to its completion as soon as the founding members were able to choose a host country for the Bureau's office. Yet the selection process was not an easy one. The Netherlands had, in the monetary sense, the most to offer to European cooperation, and the office of the European Bureau was, therefore, located in Bergen, the Netherlands.

This process of establishing the Bureau in the Netherlands took two years, 1953-54. To come to an agreement on the Bureau's constitution, however, took more time. After a ten-year effort, the organization called the European Bureau of Adult Education was registered according to the requirements of Dutch Laws in 1964.

2.7. Introducing and Implementing Meeting Europe Courses

In the early years, the action plan of the Bureau included three major activities: urban development, residential adult education and non-residential adult education. There was a number of educational activities, seminars and conferences, for example, undertaken by the Bureau in all these sectors. More interesting, however, is the fact that one particular activity outside the actual action plan occupied far more attention than any

other in the years 1963-70. This unofficial mission and function of the Bureau was called Meeting Europe courses.

To get to the roots of Meeting Europe courses, one has to return to the European Federalist Movement that continued to pursue its policies wherever possible. The Bureau's director, Bob Schouten, was an active member of the Movement, but others in the Bureau's leadership supported the idea of a unified Europe. To support this idea further, the Steering Committee of the Bureau launched the initiative of organizing 10-day international courses for young adults in different Western European countries. The purpose of these courses was to inculcate in Europeans support for the unification of Europe. In order to maximize the benefits, young adults, especially teachers, between the ages of 20 and 40 were chosen as the primary target group for the courses. Recalling the former idea of establishing community centres throughout Western European countries, it could be noted that Meeting Europe courses can be seen as a substitute for the original idea.

In the years 1963-70, 44 international Meeting Europe courses were arranged by the Bureau in collaboration with different national organizers. Many factors contributed to the success of the courses, the most important of which was money. To facilitate participation, the Bureau sponsored the courses heavily. It was able to invest much more money in these courses than it could use for all other purposes. This action was possible because the bodies sponsoring the Bureau believed, for the time being, in the idea of a united Europe.

In 1971, two major sponsors withdrew their support, and, in this way, the tradition of Meeting Europe courses came to an end. The take-over of this practice by the Association of Finnish Adult Education Organizations is the next stage of development, but it will not be included in the study.

2.8. The Continuation of Tradition

As mentioned above, the tradition of arranging an international summer course/seminar for adults continued in Finland on the basis of Meeting Europe courses.

The Finnish Adult Education Committee had joined the program in 1966, one of the breakthrough years of Finnish interaction with adult education abroad. However, building on five years of experience in organizing an international event did not guarantee an easy start for this new independent effort. This take-over period of the arranging of such courses will be dealt with in brief. After different stages of development the tradition continues, and the 25th seminar (course) was organized in June, 1993.

2.9. Analyses, Reflections and Conclusions

In the first of the two final Chapters IX, "Analysis and Reflections", I will 'close the circle' by returning to the "laws" of history developed by a senior Finnish scholar, Professor Viljo Rasila, and by testing their relevance to the study of educational history. I regard this context as appropriate for assessing my own procedures and experience in conducting interdisciplinary research having its basic premises in one of the major disciplines, history, and drawing on other sciences. To remain consistent in the analysis, I will also discuss the limitations stemming from the conditions of research and from my personal limitations as a researcher.

In the last Chapter, XII, "Conclusions", I will express my views on the short-term and long-term consequences of the genesis and early activities of the EBAE and the Meeting Europe courses. In these and other views provided in this Chapter, I distance myself from the data by changing my monitoring position on a time dimension to make observations. The events examined in the study will be no longer treated and assessed from the perspective of their time of origin, but from that of the mid-1990s. Some of my conclusions will indicate the factual developments related to the existence of the EBAE. In addition, a number of hypothetical statements are presented.

3. Research Problems

Despite the fact that Europe was badly crippled by World War II, it had, from a global perspective, the most suitable conditions for the establishment of organized cooperation in adult education on a regional basis. The European conditions will be briefly

compared with those in the rest of the world in sub-chapter VI.1. Since the initiative for this co-operation was not taken by the Western European adult education community itself, the first group of research issues has to focus on this initiative. In other words, why was no outside body ready to act in an area that was not its own and why those directly concerned, adult educators themselves, remained somewhat passive? This contradictory setting leads to a further question: what were the motives of the outside party so active in setting up European cooperation in adult education? If the motives behind the action of the outside party were not basically related to education at all, what, then, was the non-educational reason for its action?

The outside party referred to was the European Cultural Centre, founded in 1950. Based in Geneva, it was largely funded by the American government. The interest of the Centre was not limited to the establishment of the European Bureau of Adult Education. Rather, the Bureau was intended as a means to further the Centre's goal of the unification of Europe. For this purpose, a series of Meeting Europe courses was the best tool available. The focus of the thesis will be placed on analyzing the roots and implementation of those 44 courses in 1964-1970.

The initiative for Meeting Europe courses did not originate at a grass-roots level, but at the top of the adult education hierarchy. Therefore, the research will examine the responses by national organizers, and especially by those attending the courses. In so doing, one frequently confronts the fact that the Bureau's activities and courses were affected by international politics. This phenomenon can be seen particularly in a dialogue between the Bureau leadership and the Finnish organizers of the course concerning the possibility of Eastern European participation in the courses.

Before the unification efforts that were launched after World War II, Europe had never been unified. Therefore, the European Federalist Movement, as well as its followers, like those in the EBAE leadership, had a message to convey to the Western European nations: the recovery and future independence and prosperity of respective countries required the unification of their part of the Continent. If ordinary people or

those attending Meeting Europe courses did not respond positively to the new challenge by continental leaders or course organizers, the hidden agenda of the organizers for unifying Europe had to be imposed on the general public or course attendants.

However, according to the ethic followed in adult education in many Western European countries, any activity including elements of imposing views on adult students could not even be considered education. A lot of attention has to be paid, among other things, to the content of the Meeting Europe courses—that is, what topics of the courses were seen as serving the best interests of the Bureau leadership or different course organizers? Because the main organizer, the Bureau, wanted to impose its ideas, we must give major consideration to instructional methods that were used.

In summary, the specific questions that this research will address are the following:

- Which body established the EBAE?
- Were other activities coordinated that would have led to the same aims as the establishment of the Bureau in post-World War II Europe?
- For what purpose was the EBAE established?
- How do the administration and constitution of the EBAE reflect its background in its origins?
- How was the Bureau funded in general, and from which sources did the money come to run “Meeting Europe” courses?
- What was the basic purpose of “Meeting Europe” courses?
- Was that purpose openly announced to potential participants?

- How did diverse national organizers of "Meeting Europe" courses fit in the programme launched by the Bureau?
- How did participants react to the content provided and instructional methods chosen in the courses?
- How did implementation of "Meeting Europe" program reflect the struggle between old nationalism and rising internationalism?
- What were the short-term and long-term consequences of the program?

II. REVIEW OF EARLIER RESEARCH

1. Overview of Existing Research

In the classification system developed by Jindra Kulich for his well-known series of bibliographies,¹ this present study would most closely belong under the heading "International organizations; international cooperation." If there were a category called "international adult education," it would suit the present study better than any of those used by Kulich. Kulich's bibliographies show clearly that international adult education organizations and international cooperation in the field have not been researched extensively. From a historical perspective, this condition is understandable, given that the World Association for Adult Education ceased its operations in 1949 and many countries in Europe and elsewhere lacked even national coordinating bodies of adult education. Therefore, international organizations in adult education did not begin to be formed in Europe before the 1950s. Elsewhere in the world, it took even longer for such groupings to emerge. Consequently, there has been little research on these organizations and on international cooperation in adult education.

Nobody studying the early phases of international cooperation in European adult education can disregard the 25th anniversary survey, *The European Bureau of Adult Education 1953-1978*,² by G.H.L. Schouten. It is open to debate whether this work should be considered a study or a sort of collective memoir. Many methodological reasons have led me to take it as a memoir, held in high esteem but read critically.

1 Jindra Kulich, *Adult Education in Continental Europe: Annotated Bibliography of English Language Materials* 1945-1969 (1971), 1970-74 (1976), 1975-79 (1981), 1980-82 (1984), 1983-85 (1987), 1986-88 (1990), and 1989-91 (1993) [All parts published in Vancouver by Centre for Continuing Education, The University of British Columbia, Canada, in cooperation with some other research institutions].

2 G.H.L. Schouten, *The European Bureau of Adult Education 1953-1978*. Amersfoort: The European Bureau of Adult Education, 1978. 100 pp.

Some articles have dealt with the work of the EBAE in general,³ but no monographs on any of the separate areas of the Bureau's work have been published. Thus, the topic chosen for this study is located in an area of international adult education that has previously been studied very little or not at all.

In the dissertation he published in 1985, *Aikuiskasvatustutkimus viidessä maassa*⁴ [Research Activities on Adult Education in Five Countries], Eero Pantzar surveyed research in adult education in West Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden. In his study, he was forced to conclude that the international aspect in adult education had largely been ignored in the countries he studied.⁵ The categories used do not include international adult education, because there was nothing to place under such a heading. The research that had been done in these five countries predominantly had to do with the sociology, psychology and didactics of adult education. The category of "other fields of study" in his classification was for all the countries small and undifferentiated.⁶ Thus, this

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- 3 See, for example, Bill Bax, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," pp. 228-229, in *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*, edited by Peter Jarvis and Alan Chadwick. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1991; W. Bax, "Adult Education: Regional Organization in Western Europe," pp. 167-169, in *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, vol. 1, edited by T. Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985; W. Bax, "Regional and International Organizations: Western Europe," pp. 461-462, in *Lifelong Education for Adults*, edited by C. Titmus. Exeter: Pergamon Press, 1989; Budd Hall, "The Role of NGOs [Non-Governmental Organizations] in the Field of Adult Education," in *Convergence*, vol. XIX, No. 4 (1986), pp. 1-20; Edward Hutchinson, "A Case Study in Co-operation - the European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Convergence*, vol. VI, No. 3-4 (1973), pp. 40-48; D. Legge, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," pp. 87-100, in *International Organizations in Education*, edited by M.D. Stephens. London: Routledge, 1989. G.H.L. Schouten, "European Adult Education Ten Years after the Montreal Conference," in *Convergence*, vol. III, No. 2 (1970), pp. 72-74.
- 4 Eero Pantzar, *Aikuiskasvatustutkimus viidessä maassa: Vertaileva tutkimus aikuiskasvatuksen tutkimustoiminnan yleisistä lähtökohdista ja tehdystä tutkimuksesta Saksan liittotasavallassa, Suomessa ja muissa Pohjoismaissa*. Reports from Department of Adult and Youth Education 20/1985, University of Tampere, 247 pp.

5 Ibid., p. 205.

6 Ibid., passim.

study on adult education research in five countries seems itself to have been the only example of international research in adult education of its time.

In the Finnish educational system, the area of liberal adult education as distinct from vocational training for adults is of an internationally high standard. Thus, this area could be taken to mean that this area would be well researched as well, but such is not the case. After the Second World War and until 1985, when Eero Pantzar's dissertation was published, there had been a total of 164 dissertations accepted in the field of education in Finland. Of those, only six dealt with liberal adult education.⁷

According to a relatively recent Scandinavian survey, the situation remains largely unchanged—international adult education does not get any more attention in contemporary research than it did before. In each country, research tends to concentrate on areas that are relevant to the adult education establishment there. In some cases, this tendency is reinforced even further by the fact that the available research funding is earmarked for certain topics.⁸

In May, 1992, the Adult Education Council of Finland published a significant planning document, a memorandum by the research section of the Council. For the first time, official attention was given to the need to generate research connected with the developing international aspects of adult education.⁹

7 Veikko Heinonen - Jouko Kari, *Suomalaiset kasvatustieteiden väitöskirjat ja niiden laadintaprosessi. II osa: Julkaisuanalyysi*. [Finnish Dissertations in the Field of Education.] University of Jyväskylä. Institute for Educational Research. Publication Series A. Research Reports 41. Jyväskylä, 1991, p. 26.

8 See Bjarne Wahlgren, "Adult Education Research in Denmark"; Jukka Tuomisto, "Adult Education Research in Finland"; Anne Gullichsen, "Adult Education Research in Norway"; and Maj Klasson, "Adult Education Research in Sweden," in *Social Change and Adult Education Research - Adult Education Research in Nordic Countries 1990/91*. Linköping: University of Linköping, 1992, pp. 8-39.

9 *Aikuiskoulutuksen tutkimuksen kehittäminen* [Developing Research of Adult Education]. Ministry of Education: Aikuiskoulutusneuvoston julkaisu 9/1992. Helsinki, 1992, especially pp. 29-33.

How different countries value adult education largely explains the directions taken by adult education research in Europe. The general practice in northern Europe has been to give strong legislative support to various forms of adult education. The further south one looks, however, the less developed the legislative structure has been. Thus, leading adult educators of the Mediterranean region have understandably focused on research comparing adult education legislation in different countries. The best example of this tendency is *Legislative and Administrative Measures in Favour of Adult Education*,¹⁰ by the Italian Professor Paolo Federighi, current President of the EBAE. Professor Federighi also heads an EBAE project comparing legislative structures, which thus functions to strengthen the status of this approach within the value hierarchy of the organization.

This understandable European focus on legislation, however, has its limits. European researchers have not reached the conclusion of Canadian scholars a decade ago—namely, that from the point of view of learning, legislation is never just an enabling factor, but a limiting one as well.¹¹

2. Comparative Studies in Adult Education

In my assessment of adult education research, I am largely dependent on information published in Finnish, Swedish and English. According to that information, as noted previously, international organizations in adult education or international cooperation in that field has not been studied and reported in the form of extensive monographs. Instead, the interest has been in comparative studies. In this context especially, groundbreaking work has been done by the European Centre for Leisure and Education in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the only institute partially funded by UNESCO in an Eastern European

10 Firenze, 1990.

11 These questions are dealt with by Alan Thomas in his article "Government and Adult Learning," in *Choosing Our Future. Adult Education and Public Policy in Canada*, edited by Frank Cassidy and Ron Faris. Symposium Series 17. Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1987, pp. 103-130.

country during the Cold War period. High-level European adult education researchers, headed by Colin Titmus, participated in a project on Comparative Research on the Organization and Structure of Adult Education in Europe.¹²

Comparative research in adult education has also attracted growing interest in other ways. A prime example is the research seminar in Rome, May, 1988, in which 27 well-known European experts presented their papers.¹³

The latest information on adult education research in different countries gives us the following list of current distribution of research interests:

Topic of research	Amount of research
* any national theme in adult education	→ well-researched
* research comparing national adult education institutions or their segments	→ an area of growing interest and increasing research
* international adult education	→ little researched

12 In its collection of *Studies and Documents*, the European Centre for Leisure and Education published a relatively complete set of evaluations of adult education in different European countries. The preparatory work, which was done in the late 1970s and early 1980s specifically for a comparative study in this area, has remained partly unutilized because the Centre has suffered from the political changes within the country. Concerning projects that were in the planning stages in the early 1980s—see, for example, Colin Titmus, "Some Considerations on Relationships between the Parts of Adult Education, at the Level of Macro and Micro-Models", a paper presented in ECLE Expert Meeting on the Out-of-School Forms of Adult Education in Kladno, Czechoslovakia, Nov. 12-15, 1979, FAEAA. Also see Premysl Maydl and Ivan Savicky, "Comparative Research Project on Organization and Structure of Adult Education in Europe", in *Convergence*, vol. XIX, No. 3 (1986), pp. 61-68; and Frank Youngman, "Issues in Comparative Education: A Report on the International Conference on Comparative Education in Oxford, England, July 1987," in *Convergence*, vol. XXI, No. 1, pp. 28-34.

13 These papers have been published in a report, *Comparative Research in Adult Education. Present Lines and Perspectives*, edited by Maurizio Lichtner. I Quaderni Di Villa Falconieri 17. Frascati: Centro Europeo Dell'Educazione, 1989, 270 pp.

This research distribution demonstrates clearly that international organizations and activities in adult education have attracted very little research. There are no previous scientific studies published on the specific topic proposed for this study.

3. Methodological Background and Starting Points

In every scientific study, the chosen topic and the methods of acquiring information about it, as well as other methodological decisions, are so closely related that it is relevant to deal with them as a unit. Thus, both the methodology chosen for this study and the sources used in it—how information was acquired, in other words—are, as a whole, thoroughly evaluated in the following chapter.

In this context, however, we should remember one of the central starting points of historical research: research should target areas that have not been studied previously, or on which historians are unable to agree, and should, as much as possible, rely on archival records and other primary source materials. This central methodological starting point means, among other things, that earlier research should figure less prominently within the source material than it customarily does in other fields of research. Taken to its logical extreme, the information to be presented as new findings should be taken directly from the primary sources, and that there would thus be no need to include an overview of earlier research at all. As the following sub-chapter will make clear, this extreme position cannot be considered desirable, although it does remain a useful guideline for evaluating the results put forward by any researcher as an original contribution to the field.

4. Sources Dealing with the State of Adult Education

Although historical research has its own characteristics, some of its central starting points are the same as for other fields of research. It is essential, for instance, to focus the study clearly and to organize the discussion around this focus. In practice, the researcher can rely on primary sources only with respect to this central topic. Nevertheless, a background for the study needs to be established, and this can be accomplished only with the

help of existing research. Without this background, the focus of the study and the new information brought forward by it will remain out of context.

The main focus of my study is the founding of the EBAE and the "Meeting Europe" courses. In order to place them in context, however, I first need to examine, to some extent, the state of European adult education after the end of the Second World War. The aforementioned set of evaluations of adult education in different European countries, published by the European Centre for Leisure and Education in Prague, have provided an invaluable source of information for attaining this goal. This series is unique, because it provides information about countries for which very little material concerning adult education is available in English.

The various changes taking place in Europe after the mid-1980s have put adult education establishments into a state of flux. The publishing efforts activated by this transformation have provided compilations of a kind previously not available in Europe. The first among these was an inventory of adult education training in 17 European countries called *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*,¹⁴ soon followed by *Perspectives on Adult Education and Training in Europe*¹⁵ covering 30 countries. Both publications are intended as "an historical snapshot", an objective clearly spelled out in the preface to the latter publication. This goal has been achieved only partially, however, and, from the point of view of the present study, this is beneficial rather than unfortunate. Namely, the historical sections of these works that were intended chiefly as current surveys have nevertheless become quite substantial, and thus serve this study very well. It seems that, in their confusion over recent developments, European authors have chosen to look back toward the roots of their adult education traditions as one of

14 Peter Jarvis and Alan Chadwick (eds.), *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1991.

15 Peter Jarvis (ed.), *Perspectives on Adult Education and Training in Europe*. Worchester: NIACE, 1992.

their basic premises. This situation often occurs when historians study times of profound change.

In some stages of the present study, it has been pertinent to look beyond Europe in seeking a background to the events under scrutiny. The widest possible perspective has been offered by *The International Encyclopedia of Education*,¹⁶ the *Lifelong Education for Adults*,¹⁷ based on the former, and the *International Organizations in Education*.¹⁸ Occasionally, the research has led the focus to shift from large organizations to individuals or to national questions. In these cases, an invaluable source for the present study has been *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education*,¹⁹ compiled and edited by Peter Jarvis. This work focuses mainly on Europe, shows a strong British bias, and contains both small and large errors in its references. Still, this work has been valuable, especially in helping me identify many individuals, organizations, etc., I had not known previously. Such leads have made it possible to locate other sources for additional information.

In the earliest stages of a study, a researcher can hardly ever foresee all the questions, small as well as large, which need to be addressed or all the articles, books and other sources that need to be used during its course. The research process often produces many aspects of the topic of which the researcher had no advance awareness. These unexpected aspects often mean two things. On the one hand, they force the researcher to become acquainted with new sources in order to progress. On the other hand, these surprises are intellectually rewarding and encouraging.

16 Torsten Husén and T.N. Postlethwaite (eds.), *The International Encyclopedia of Education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985.

17 Colin J. Titmus (ed.), *Lifelong Education for Adults. An International Handbook*. Exeter: Pergamon Press, 1989.

18 M.D. Stephens (ed.), *International Organizations in Education*. London: Routledge, 1989.

19 Peter Jarvis (ed.), *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education*. Chatham, Kent: Routledge, 1990.

Perhaps the best example of such an unexpected emergence of new issues that proved very interesting has been my encountering Myles Horton (Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee) at a conference of European adult educators in 1957. Already, through source material available in Europe, I had learned of the position he held in North American adult education circles and, in fact, in the global history of radical adult education as a whole. Nevertheless, it was only through the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education library that I had the opportunity to become more familiar with Myles Horton. His autobiography, *The Long Haul*,²⁰ is an exceptionally lucid, honest and impressive book.

Horton's autobiography is splendidly complemented by *We Make the Road by Walking*,²¹ which is compiled from conversations between Horton and Paulo Freire. Many things combine to make this book a powerful reading experience. For instance, both men are radical humanists. Orthodox Marxist analysis has criticized Freire's teachings in particular as unsuitable for serving as a basis for socialist adult education.²² The impression this book makes is heightened by the knowledge that Myles Horton died a few weeks after its completion; it can thus be viewed as a kind of testament to his thinking. In addition, extensive research has been conducted on Horton and/or the Highlander Center²³ that brings useful depth and breadth to Horton's person.

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- 20 Myles Horton, *The Long Haul. An Autobiography*, with Judith Kohl and Herbert Kohl. Preface by Bill Moyers. USA: (First) Anchor Books (Edition), 1991.
- 21 Myles Horton and Paulo Freire, *We Make the Road by Walking. Conversations on Education and Social Change*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- 22 See Frank Youngman, *Adult Education and Socialist Pedagogy*. New York: Croom Helm, 1986, pp. 150-196.
- 23 Most important among these being: Frank Adams with Myles Horton, *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander*. Charlotte, North Carolina: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1975; John M. Glen, *Highlander. No Ordinary School. 1932-1962*. Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1988; and Aimee Isgrig Horton, *The Highlander Folk School. A History of Its Major Programs, 1932-1961*. Preface by David J. Garrow. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing Inc, 1989. In addition to these books, there have been numerous articles written about the Highlander Center and Horton. References to some of these will be made later in this study.

5. Outlining a European Framework

This study deals with the topic of adult education as a social and international issue in Europe during a certain time period. In order to place adult education within a larger framework, it becomes necessary to draw a picture of the general political landscape of Europe after the Second World War. In doing so, I have been able to rely on extensive and multinational research material. Indeed, the scope of the available sources led to a difficult problem of selection. The key questions were the following: which countries could provide me with research that would assure that the background I constructed would be as objective and reliable as possible? And secondly, how should I limit the chapter on the historical background so as to give it enough prominence, without taking too much space away from the actual topic? These questions are classical ones that certainly must be confronted in virtually every study undertaken.

My solutions were based on the fact that, due to its special relationship with the Soviet Union, Finland was largely marginalized from the post-war rebuilding and development of Western Europe during the late 1940s and the 1950s. This development was based on economic assistance coming from the United States, beginning with the Marshall Plan, and which coincided with the emergence of European cooperation in adult education, and the founding of the EBAE. Nevertheless, Finland remained free in the sense that scientific and other information coming into or going out of the country was not controlled or limited. Since the Finns were, to some extent, outsiders in regard to the developments in the rest of the Western Europe, I decided to rely on outsiders' views, that is, on Finnish research in writing my background chapter (Chapter IV) on the post-war political developments in Europe.

To transmit a picture of global and European developments into their own country, Finnish historians and political scientists, especially, published extensive and comprehensive general surveys and monographs. Titles like *The World of the Cold War*, *The History of the Nuclear Age*, *The World Events of Our Times* and *The World of Politics: A Dic-*

tionary of *International Politics* represent this effort. The authors I have quoted in this study represent the highest possible levels of academic and professional expertise in the fields of history and political science in Finland.²⁴

One essential clarification needs to be made. In this context, Finnish research does not necessarily signify an exclusively Finnish viewpoint. Analogous to the way in which the Nordic countries began, after the mid-1950s, to act as a unified group within the United Nations and in other international contexts whenever it was possible to do so without violating any of the parties' vital interests, views concerning research could also be largely parallel. Thus, the picture presented by Finnish authors on European development is in close accord with that advanced by researchers and political observers in other Nordic countries.

Similar conclusions and analyses in research and writings from the Nordic countries were naturally not a result of some kind of prior agreement among the researchers and observers. Rather, they are explained by centuries of common history and by the shared values of a political philosophy that led all the Nordic countries to strive toward a form of society called the welfare state. A third important factor was their shared objective of remaining outside the superpower conflicts, although in practice this sometimes led the Nordic countries to take different paths in their foreign policy decisions.

In constructing the general European background for my study, I was led to review my chosen sources when my thesis committee encouraged me to offer English language references in addition to Finnish ones, especially for the chapter on post-war Europe. Naturally, this process significantly strengthened the documentation of this

24 Jaakko Itälä (ed.), *The World of Cold War* [Kylmän rauhan maailma.] Jyväskylä: K.G. Gummerus Oy, 1959; Kalervo Hovi (ed.), *The History of the Nuclear Age. Development in International Relations after the Second World War* [Atomiajan historia. Kansainvälisten suhteiden kehitystä toisen maailmansodan jälkeen.] Porvoo: WSOY, 1968; Tauno Kuosa, *The World Events of Our Times* [Oman aikamme maailmantapahtumat.] Porvoo: WSOY, 1962; and Antti Kovanen - Juhani Lehtola, *The World of Politics. A Dictionary of International Politics* [Politiikan maailma. Kansainvälisen politiikan hakuteos.] Helsinki: Otava, 1970.

study. At the same time, it offered me the opportunity to become familiar with some new materials. Among these, the most useful turned out to be the series *Documents on International Affairs*, published by The Royal Institute of International Affairs.²⁵ For additional information, I used *The World Today* series²⁶ by the same publisher and the *Harper Encyclopedia of the Modern World*.²⁷

Documents are factual sources. Interpretation is left to the users.²⁸ My study deals mainly with the years 1950-1970, and it is clear that many researchers have published analyses of European political development during those years. It is self-evident that I have only been able to become familiar with a limited selection of these analyses, as they have not been the main focus of this study. Three books deserve to be mentioned here, however. W.W. Rostow's *The Division of Europe after World War II: 1946*²⁹ contains, in addition to analysis and interpretations, a number of interesting documents central to the present study. The extensive work by Thad W. Riker, *A History of Modern Europe*,³⁰ contains in the chapters on "A Shattered and Divided Europe", "A Cold War,"

25 The volume on each year is published about ten years after the year in question, due to the fact that much of the information contained in the documents is classified. Thus, for instance, the volume on 1962 was published in 1971, and the volume for 1963 in 1973. The Editor-in-Chief for the aforementioned volumes, among others, was the eminent English expert on contemporary history, D.C. Watt.

26 The volumes of *The World Today* series were published at a relatively fast pace. Thus, the volume covering the period from January to December 1963, for instance, was published already at the end of 1964.

27 *Harper Encyclopedia of the Modern World. A Concise Reference History from 1760 to the Present*. Edited by Richard B. Morris and Graham W. Irvin. USA: Harper and Row, 1970.

28 Instead, the researcher has to remember that the published documents are always but a *sampling of a larger body of information*, and the researcher is thus forced to assess how representative the selection is.

29 W.W. Rostow, *The Division of Europe after World War II: 1946*, USA: University of Texas Press, 1982.

30 Thad W. Riker, *A History of Modern Europe*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

and "A Changing and Troubled Europe," an excellent and timely account of the state Europe was in after going through two world wars in three decades. A supplement to the latter is André Fontaine's book on the Cold War.³¹

I will conclude my overview of earlier research with the monumental 10-volume work, *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*.³² When I noticed that its Editor-in-Chief had been the eminent English historian, A.J.P. Taylor, my expectations were raised. I was not disappointed, since volumes 8-10 of the series contain several excellent articles directly relevant to my study.

31 André Fontaine, *History of the Cold War from the Korean War to the Present*. Translated from the French by Renaud Bruce. Brattleboro, Vermont: Pantheon Books, 1969.

32 A. J. P. Taylor (Editor-in-Chief), *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*. Volumes 8-10. Paulton Bristol: Purnell & Sons Limited, 1971.

III. RESEARCH METHODS AND SOURCES USED

1. The Interdisciplinary Approach of the Study

As stated earlier, the major foci of this study are the beginning of organized European cooperation in adult education and a series of courses arranged in Western European countries. Since these topics are firmly tied to contemporaneous European political events, this study must remain open to the methodological contributions provided by policy studies and international politics. My use of the methods of policy studies is not limited to Chapter IV, the political background chapter ("Post-Second World War Europe - The Phoenix Rising from Its Ashes"), but I return to them from time to time in the later chapters as well in order to clarify my discussion.

The essential field of this study is pedagogics and, in particular, adult education. Even more specifically, it represents research in the history of adult education. Thus it has been necessary to feature history and pedagogics very strongly in the methodology of this study, more strongly than policy studies, which serves a more limited function as a part of the whole. All in all, the topic chosen for this study calls for an interdisciplinary approach, making the project both challenging and difficult.

2. The Role of Education in the Study

Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael¹ present nine basic methods used for studies in education, summarized on the next page. In their methodological guidebook mentioned earlier,² Merriam and Simpson in turn present four basic research ap-

1 Stephen Isaac & William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation for Education and the Behavioral Sciences. A Collection of Principles, Methods, and Strategies Useful in the Planning, Design, and Evaluation of Studies in Education and the Behavioral Sciences*. Seventh Printing (First Printing 1981). San Diego, California: EdITS Publishers, 1990, pp. 42-43.

2 Sharan B. Merriam and Edwin L. Simpson, *A Guide to Research for Educators and Trainers of Adults*, passim.

NINE BASIC METHODS OF RESEARCH

METHOD	PURPOSE
HISTORICAL	To reconstruct the past objectively and accurately, often in relation to the tenability of an hypothesis
DESCRIPTIVE	To describe systematically a situation or area of interest factually and accurately.
DEVELOPMENTAL	To investigate patterns and sequences of growth and/or change as a function of time.
CASE AND FIELD	To study intensively the background, current status, and environmental interactions of a given social unit: an individual, group, institution, or community.
CORRELATIONAL	To investigate the extent to which variations in one factor correspond with variations in one or more other factors based on correlation coefficients.
CAUSAL-COMPARATIVE or "EX POST FACTO"	To investigate possible cause-and-effect relationships by observing some existing consequence and searching back through the data for plausible causal factors.
TRUE EXPERIMENTAL	To investigate possible cause-and-effect relationships by exposing one or more experimental groups to one or more treatment conditions and comparing the results to one or more control groups not receiving the treatment (random assignment being essential).
QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL	To approximate the conditions of the true experience in a setting which does not allow the control and/or manipulation of all relevant variables. The researcher must clearly understand what compromises exist in the internal and external validity of his design and proceed within the limitations.
ACTION	To develop new skills or new approaches and to solve problems with direct application to the classroom or other applied setting.

proaches (cf. Chapters 4 to 7); but, in comparison with Isaac's and Michael's classification, Merriam and Simpson have combined some methods which might be better discussed separately as well. The number of different approaches presented in different methodological guidebooks is not relevant here, however. What is important is to realize that no single method is used for research in pedagogics and/or adult education. Rather, to

best serve the requirements of the study, the researcher must choose one or a combination of methods from a number of different methods.

Producing new information in adult education research cannot rely on some particular "adult education research method," since such a method does not exist. Thus, I have been forced to use a combination of various methods in this study in order to shed light on historical phenomena in adult education. Most adult education researchers have had their academic training in fields other than pedagogics, and it is thus understandable that they have been specializing in those questions of adult education that best correspond with their own basic training. Such is the case with my study, also, as my choice of research topic reflects the fact that my own research skills are strongest in the area of the history of adult education. I shall return to this question later in this chapter.

3. Policy Studies and International Politics

Both in political science and in international politics, different schools of thought and different theoretical and methodological approaches are competing against one another, supplementing one another, and sometimes partially overlapping one another, as was noted by the Finnish authority in this field, Professor Osmo Apunen.³ Since the present study is not part of any larger project utilizing a particular methodology or scientific tradition, I have had no reason to limit my freedom by adopting some particular theoretical or methodological framework for this study. I have therefore chosen to use a problem-oriented approach, and have accordingly used methods and approaches that were most suitable to each context.

3 Osmo Apunen, *Kansainvälisen politiikan metodologiset perusteet. Oppihistoriallisia ääriä ja erään tieteenalan vaiheista* [Methodological Foundations for Research in International Politics. Doctrinal Outlines of the History of a Discipline.]. University of Tampere, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Unit of Peace Research and Development Studies. Report 44 (1991), pp. 14-15. Here Prof. Apunen refers to James E. Dougherty & Robert L. Pfalzgraff Jr., *Contending Theories of International Relations, A Comprehensive Survey*. New York: Harper & Row, Second Edition, 1981.

4. Contemporary History

This study belongs in the field of contemporary history. The concept of contemporary history, however, has been one of some debate. According to an interpretation that is common, especially in Great Britain and Germany, contemporary history means, in a general sense, the history of phenomena that took place during the lifetime of those studying them. This conceptual interpretation has been adopted by, among others, the Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Munich, Germany), the British Association of Contemporary Historians, the Institute for Contemporary British History, and, among periodicals, the *Journal of Contemporary History*. The fact that French academics have their own interpretation of this issue as well, is a rather common occurrence in European science.⁴

Rather more difficult than trying to define contemporary history temporally is trying to characterize it by content. From the viewpoint of this study, two factors that Geoffrey Barraclough sees as characteristic of contemporary history have proven both practical and useful. These two factors are

✱ the global nature of causes and effects

and, on the other hand,

✱ the shrinking of European influence.⁵

This latter characteristic is controversial and interesting. From certain viewpoints—for instance, that of population—Europe has undeniably shrunk, compared to other parts of the world. But the leaders in the various capitals of Europe are not about to

4 D.C. Watt, "Mitä oman ajan historia on?" [What is Contemporary History?], in *Poliittinen historia, Suomi ja muut*, edited by Seppo Hentilä and Timo Turja. Oulu: Pohjoinen, 1991, p. 13.

5 Geoffrey Barraclough, *Oman ajan historian suuntaviivoja* [Outlines of Contemporary History]. Translated and with a foreword by Eino Lyytinen. Porvoo: WSOY, 1973 (original published in 1964), especially chapters I, II, and III. See also translator's foreword, pp. 5-7.

accept a shrinking role without a fight. To the contrary, they are doing what they can to maintain the economic and political status of their region. This tendency is, in turn, related to that ideological platform from which the Meeting Europe courses were launched. How easy it is to go astray when trying to characterize one's own time too early! It is also evident in Professor Barraclough's book. He sees that the new technologically developed society has led to a shift from individuality into a democracy of the masses.⁶ (After the collapse of the Soviet Union, changes in all of Eastern Europe, and national liberation struggles as well as other types of political turmoil around the world, have, in this respect, justified rather the opposite conclusions—or, better still, encouraged one to wait patiently to see what the future will bring.)

5. Current Contribution to the Dialogue on European Integration

To this point, I have been able to describe my approaches, intentions and starting points without being associated with any particular school of educational science or historical doctrine. From a certain viewpoint, this state of affairs is easy to explain. Finland is apparently too small a nation (with a total population of only 5 million) to really have different schools of thought within its academia in the sense that they exist in the large European countries, which does not mean that there would not exist differing scientific views or that there would be no academic debate going on, as in other parts of the free world. In some cases, the debate has even been so severe that the judicial system has had to intervene. In trying to solve a certain scientific dispute that had gotten out of hand, the court noted that, in academic debate, stronger than usual language may be allowed, even language that in other contexts could lead to a libel suit.

A country with a small population does not necessarily lack teachers whose teaching is inspiring, interesting and encourages a lasting interest in the matter. Instead

6 Some of the other theses by Prof. Barraclough need to be re-examined as well, but that does not make his aforementioned book any less important. Rather, this fact serves as a good reminder of just how careful one must be in characterizing the historical significance of one's own times.

of seeking out schools of thought, students in Finland and elsewhere try to study with outstanding and esteemed teachers. In my time, I studied under Professor Aira Kemiläinen, a Professor in World History and a noted researcher of nationalism. She has published most of her work⁷ in several of the major European languages and is (like many other Finnish scientists and academics) much better known in professional circles abroad than among the larger audiences in Finland.

One of Prof. Kemiläinen's areas of interest in studying nationalism was the work and ideas of the German historian, Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886). He is widely regarded as the father as well as the master of modern historical scholarship, sometimes also called "the Nestor of Historians."⁸ Ranke saw it as the task of the historian to show "Wie es eigentlich gewesen" - "as it actually happened." Through the years, this task has been seen as the chief challenge for the science of history. From time to time, Ranke has been criticized for representing scientific positivism that was condemned in scientific circles, or it was said he had reduced the science of history to the level of mere description. Despite these and other criticisms and restrictions, every historian is forced, to some extent, to be a follower of Ranke's ideas. To the history student, already the first term paper shows that outlining things "as they actually happened" is a difficult task, indeed. Later, if the student continues to be interested, she or he will find that this task becomes more difficult—paradoxically—the more skilled one becomes at historical research.

No research method or approach can ever be perfect. At their best, they can serve a particular purpose extremely well, but they might also be completely unsuitable for some other purposes. On the other hand, it must be remembered that *a researcher's ability in*

7 The major works by Professor Aira Kemiläinen are *Nationalism. Problems Concerning the Word, the Concept and Classification*. Studia Historica Jyväskyläensia III. Jyväskylä: University of Jyväskylä, 1964; and "L'affaire d'Avignon" (1789-1791) *from the Viewpoint of Nationalism*. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimikuksia B:172 [Transactions of Finnish Academy of Science B:172], Helsinki, 1971.

8 *The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present*, edited, selected and introduced by Fritz Stern. Cleveland, Ohio: The World Publishing Company, Thirteenth Printing, 1966 (First Printing 1956), pp. 54-62.

applying each method or a combination thereof might, in the end, be crucial in determining the value of the chosen methods.

Given this background, I would like here to defend the usefulness of the Rankean approach, which provides this study's basic historical methodology. I do not deny that the Rankean approach has been somewhat controversial. Professor Michael Welton, for instance, quite recently critiqued the Rankean approach,⁹ although he did so by quoting another scholar and by using mainly general arguments. As I noted earlier, however, using the Rankean method as a *central* foundation of the historical approach does not *in this study* mean that I would have ignored the criticism directed at it, and not kept an open mind toward other approaches.

Leopold von Ranke phrased one of the central theses of his method very clearly when he stated, as noted above, that the task of history is to show an event "as it actually happened." Such a simple and clearly stated objective strongly attracts criticism and is easily attacked. If Ranke would have been more "scientific" (which in practice often means being more obscure), he might have been able to avoid a lot of *unnecessary* criticism. It is important to note here, however, that uncovering how things "actually happened" is a goal of scientific research in general, and not a goal exclusive to Ranke or other historians.

In his far-reaching, thorough, and illuminating "Presidential Address" to the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Professor David N. Wilson noted that comparative educators with varied scientific backgrounds have been "concerned with the study of 'how things came to be the way they are ...'"¹⁰ In conversation, Professor Wilson pointed out that the general research objective he had

9 Michael Welton, "Memories in the Time of Troubles: The Liberatory Moments History Project," in *Convergence*, Volume XXVI (1993), Number 4, p. 3.

10 David N. Wilson, "Comparative and International Education: Fraternal or Siamese Twins?", in Comparative and International Education Society: *Presidential Address*, 1994, p. 38.

mentioned was widely accepted in this field. His reference indicates that Ranke's starting point is not only suitable to the science of history, but that he might have crystallized a concept that can also be successfully applied in other fields of science.

Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein, authors of one of the basic works on comparative education,¹¹ note that the biggest problems within comparative education are "a priori judgements and biases." They consider it a weakness of their field that "...conclusions rely largely on the private insights of [their] authors ..." They call for "a more empirical and, where possible, quantified approach."¹² Noah and Eckstein are thus clearly attempting to bridge the gap between research results and the real world, which science should always be attempting to illuminate.

Researchers following Leopold von Ranke's guidelines base their studies solidly on primary sources and hard documentation. They do this because the original documents generated during the original events (in the historical past) are the best available connection between past and present realities, the best available source of information. If researchers properly respect their sources, they will largely eliminate their a priori judgements and biases. Whatever is not mentioned by primary sources as having existed or taken place cannot exist for the researcher, even if he or she would prefer otherwise. Naturally, this approach does not exclude factors like intuition from scientific research. In the Rankean method, the documentation and available facts indicate the boundaries within which intuition and other elements of creativity can function; creativity does not give license to arbitrary changes of fact to suit fancy.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Marxist view of history has encountered the process of reconsideration. Unlike Western theories of history, it has seen his-

11 Harold J. Noah and Max A. Eckstein, *Toward a Science of Comparative Education*. USA: The Macmillan Company, 1969, pp. 188-191.

12 Ibid.

tory as consisting of historical laws. On this doctrine was based the entire faith in the gradual but irreversible development of humanity towards a communist world order.

Western historical science also has a tendency to look for and find laws of history. This trend is probably due to positive interdisciplinary influence. It could also result from a feeling of inferiority by historians; they are looking for the same kinds of laws within their own discipline as are produced in natural sciences and other "real science." I do not suffer from such an inferiority complex relative to researchers in natural sciences. I do, however, find very important, fascinating and worthwhile the viewpoint that I found in the work of Professor Viljo Rasila (University of Tampere, Finland.)

Prof. Rasila does not see history as guided by the same kinds of laws as are seen by Marxist theories of science. Instead, he sees the "laws" of history both as "trivial" and as "random." He mentions the following laws of history:

- the law of insufficient means;
- the law of irreversibility; no situation can be exactly restored. If the same event recurs, it *will not recur under exactly the same conditions*.
- the law of intention or continuity: an existing state of affairs tries to continue to exist unchanged;
- the law of entropy or seeking balance; a tendency to try to reach a tension-free state.
- the law of holism; everything influences everything; and

- the law of diffusion: cultural phenomena are being transferred from one culture to another.¹³

As one can see, some of these laws can be applied as tools within other scientific disciplines. The present study has been influenced by what these laws say about what should be taken into account and under consideration.

One of the influential historians of the British school, Edward Hallett Carr, states in his *What is History?* that "history is a continuous exchange between the historian and his facts, an endless dialogue between the past and the present."¹⁴ Consequently, history is not only the memory of things past, but an active participant in a process of change that has started far in the past and is still continuing. Thus, the author of a historical text is not just the finder and user of documents in old archives, but, at the same time, the creator of a new document.¹⁵ When one remembers Europe taking its first steps on the road to unification, the chronological and thematic starting point of this study, and then compares this starting point to the present discussion in Finland about its possible European Community membership, one feels one is writing a very current document.

6. Sources Used for the Study

It is not possible to do a scientific study on the Meeting Europe courses without basing it on primary sources. Those primary sources that have been generated through the work of the EBAE are kept in the Dutch National Archives in Utrecht, the Netherlands. The intended system for organizing these documents seems to have been separate boxes

13 This material is from Keijo Elio, *Kasvatuksen historia tutkimuskohteena*. University of Jyväskylä, Department of Education, Research Reports N:o 56/1977, p. 46. In his source listings Prof. Elio refers to a lecture series given by Prof. Rasila in the Tampere University in 1971 titled "Historian objektiivisuuden ongelma" [The Problem of Historical Objectivity.] Despite efforts by several people at the Department of History of Tampere University, and contacts with Prof. Emeritus Rasila, this lecture series has not been found.

14 Edward Hallett Carr, *Mitä historia on?* Helsinki: Otava, 1963 (originally *What Is History?*, published in 1961), p. 32.

15 See the article by Watt cited above.

for each set of topics. Where a set of documents has been extensive, a series of boxes with a running numbering has been used. If this system had worked in practice also, all the Meeting Europe course documents should be found in no more than five boxes with a total of about 3,000 pages of documents. The classification and, accordingly, the placement of the documents has not been done consistently, logically, and carefully, however. Thus it was necessary to go through nine additional boxes (with 4,500 pages of material in them) that have contained information relevant to the project, even though, in principle, all the essential information should have been in the boxes for the Meeting Europe courses. I must add that the seemingly irrelevant material I have had to peruse in checking through these nine boxes has significantly increased my knowledge about the EBAE and, consequently, about the background from which the Meeting Europe courses originated.

The archival materials for Meeting Europe courses in Finland is kept in the archives of the Finnish Adult Education Association.¹⁶ The relatively large amounts of material available from 1966-1970 makes it possible to undertake a complete analysis of each course/seminar as well as a study of how the institution developed and changed through the years. As the course/seminar developed as an institution and achieved a more and more prominent place in the field of international adult education, the archival materials also became more varied and extensive.

The archival materials of both the EBAE and the FAEA have proved to be of satisfactory reliability and relatively complete. With the FAEA, reliability improved from the time it began to use computerized text-processing systems, which makes it easy to correct documents immediately if they contain false information. When dealing with the 1960s, one still has to consider a list of course participants with caution, since

16 The present name of the association was adopted on 1.1.1993 to replace "the Association of Finnish Adult Education Organizations." The change of name was strongly influenced by the fact that the FAEA rejoined the Society of Education and Culture, which it had separated from to become an independent organization in 1969.

people who had had to cancel their participation at the last minute might not have been removed from the list. Similar cases where the documents contain information that reflects what was expected to happen rather than what actually did happen are many, especially for the period before automated text-processing. These pitfalls make research a fascinating, but sometimes laborious exploration into history as it actually happened.

In addition to the two archives mentioned above, I have been able to utilize some other Finnish and Scandinavian archives. This has been done to avoid, as much as possible, any bias in favour of the FAEA and Finland. It is a classic problem in historical research that results tend to be shaped by whichever sources the researcher has used—the sources steer the researcher—which naturally leads to a biased picture of the matters under study.

Usually, the historian must accept the source material that a) has survived, or b) is *accessible* to her/him on the subject matter at hand. It is usually impossible in practice, for instance, for the researcher to arrange an inquiry among those who participated in the activities under study when it turns out his or her information is incomplete, since often those people are not among us anymore. When it comes to contemporary history, however, historical actors are available, and, in principle, additional information could also be obtained through interviews with them. For some years, there are evaluation sheet surveys available about the Meeting Europe courses, and the information available through them allows us to get a deeper picture of the courses than would otherwise have been possible. A secondary consideration is that checking the accuracy of the information presented in the evaluation sheets proved, in this case, to be considerably more laborious than it would have been to conduct a whole new survey.

The archival sources used in this study are, on the whole, clearly defined and well-suited to the goals set for this study in the first chapter. The same cannot be said about the secondary sources, literature, scientific papers, etc., which in this case are wide-ranging, rich, and vibrant. In fact, using them presented me with a difficult decision: on the one hand, I had to be able to find the material in previous studies that is essential for my own

study; on the other, for practical reasons I had to limit the amount of literature and articles in the field I would research. There is a danger that expanding too much in the direction of secondary sources would lead to an uncontrollable situation where the entire study could ultimately get out of hand.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this study, there has been little research on this topic. Because of this, *The European Bureau of Adult Education, 1953-1978* (1978) by Bob Schouten, deserves careful attention. It is not a primary source from a formal viewpoint, but in its factual contents it is one, and possibly has more value than many documents. Schouten's book contains information not available in any documents, and is also very reliable as a source. The author generally openly discusses underlying motives before describing the events themselves. Other varied sources reveal that there were no discrepancies between documented reality and Schouten's text. The EBAE should recognize Schouten's life work by ordering a second printing of his booklet, now that the organization has just celebrated its 40th anniversary.

Since few articles about the EBAE are not relevant to this study, I am all the more indebted to the work of Bill Bax¹⁷ for illuminating issues that have been perplexing me. Also the articles by E.M. Hutchinson, Derek Legge and Schouten¹⁸ all help in laying the groundwork for this study.

17 Bill Bax, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*, edited by Peter Jarvis and Alan Chadwick. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1991, pp. 228-229; W. Bax, "Adult Education: Regional Organizations in Western Europe," in *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, Editors-in-Chief Torsten Husén and T. Neville Postlethwaite. Volume 1. Exeter: Pergamon Press, 1985, pp.167-169; W. Bax, "Regional and International Organizations: Western Europe," in *Lifelong Education for Adults*, edited by C. Titmus. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989, pp. 461-462.

18 Edward Hutchinson, "A Case Study in Co-operation - the European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Convergence*, Volume VI (1973), No. 3-4, pp. 40-48; Derek Legge, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," in *International Organizations in Education*, edited by Michael D. Stephens. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1989, pp. 87-100; G.H.L. Schouten, "European Adult Education Ten Years after the Montreal Conference," in *Convergence*, Volume III (1970), No. 2, pp. 72-74.

Sources in English figure very prominently among all the sources. Thus, it has not been necessary to artificially try to avoid studies and primary sources in other languages. Finnish research, whether published in Finnish or in English, is deliberately being presented to foreign audiences here. In this context, it is necessary to draw attention to some articles, studies and reports written in languages other than English, Finnish or Swedish, which have been used in this study. From a methodological standpoint, it is considered best to use original, untranslated sources whenever possible. Common sense, however, compels one to add that practical considerations should also be taken into account. First of all, it may be impossible to seek out all information in its original form and original language. Secondly, in many cases it is much better to use a critically reviewed translation that has gone through a scientific scrutiny than a hard-to-understand original.

IV. POST-SECOND WORLD WAR EUROPE: THE PHOENIX RISING FROM ITS ASHES

1. Western Europe Loses Some Political Significance

The anti-German coalition that was forged by circumstances during the Second World War was unconventional. Only the kind of threat posed by Nazi Germany could temporarily make the Bolshevik Soviet Union of Stalin and the Western Allied powers with their market economies join forces. It was only a matter of time before this alliance would break up. Both parties kept this reality in mind, especially after the war had in effect been decided. Towards the end of the war, both sides tried to secure post-war influence by invading as much territory as possible. This process reached its climax in the race towards Berlin, the city whose fate came to symbolize the situation in Europe as a whole.¹

The peace accord signed by the victors and the defeated in the Palace of Luxembourg in Paris in April, 1947, with all of its consequences, meant that Europe became a divided continent,² which was no surprise. As early as March, 1946, the former Prime Minister of Britain, Sir Winston Churchill, voiced the real concerns of the Western allied nations in a speech he gave in Fulton, Missouri, United States. He noted that

1 Bruce Kuklick, *American Policy and the Division of Germany. The Clash with Russia over Reparations*. USA: Cornell University Press, 1972, passim; M.L. Altgovzen, "The Russians Reach Berlin," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 1976-1982; F.S. Northedge, "The Strains of Alliance," *ibid.*, pp. 2018-2023.

2 For more about the peace process, see Jaakko Itälä (ed.), *Kylmän rauhan maailma. Kuvaus maailmantapahtumista 1945-58* [The World of the Cold War]. Jyväskylä: K.G. Gummerus Oy, 1959, pp. 76-77; Max Beloff, "Roosevelt and Stalin," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2024-2027; Wilfrid Knapp, "Europe in Ruins," *ibid.*, pp. 2046-2053; Peter Calvocoressi, "The New Balance of Power," *ibid.*, pp. 2060-2063; Thad W. Riker, *A History of Modern Europe*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948, esp. Chapter "A Shattered and Divided Europe".

an iron curtain had been lowered across Europe from Stettin to Trieste, and on the Eastern side of that curtain there was but one free nation, Greece.³ This statement was all the more significant because of who said it. It was well-known that despite the fact that he was now a private citizen, the views Churchill expressed publicly carried more weight than mere personal opinion.

In the past, there had been many factors promoting a Eurocentric world view, not the least of which had been imperialism. The Second World War and all that followed began to weaken this view, bit by bit. In issues of real significance in the world, Western Europe seemed to have less and less influence. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, although crippled by war and representing different social and political values, was growing significantly in global politics. Gradually it became the other superpower, much more influential globally than was all of Western Europe.⁴

Another centre of power had also clearly shifted entirely from Europe to the United States, on whom Western Europe became politically dependent. The fact that the United States kept its European allies up-to-date on events in superpower relations did not mean that it was not also looking after its own interests in all cases, rather than those of its allies whenever these conflicted.⁵

The victors of the Second World War devised a rigorous plan to punish Japan and to eliminate the possibility of its some day recovering and becoming a threat to its neighbours and to world peace. Carrying out this plan, however, which included, for instance, the dismantling of all the heavy industries in Japan, was prohibitively expensive, espe-

3 W.W. Rostow, *The Division of Europe after World War II: 1946*. USA: University of Texas Press, 1982, passim; Riker, op.cit., esp. Chapters "A Cold War" and "A Changing and Troubled Europe"; Tuomo Polvinen, "Maailman kahtiajako" [World Divided in Two], in *Atomiajan historia. Kansainvälisten suhteiden kehitystä toisen maailmansodan jälkeen* [The History of the Nuclear Age. Development in International Relations after the 2nd World War], edited by Kalervo Hovi. Porvoo: WSOY, 1968, p. 69.

4 Peter Calvocoressi, "The New Balance of Power," pp. 2060-2063.

5 Ibid.

cially for the United States, and was never implemented. When Japan managed to tie its interests to those of the United States as a result of the Korean War, which started in 1950, it was able to stimulate its economic development and in a few decades Japan's wealth and productivity surpassed those of the Western economies.⁶

During this low tide of Western European power, the colonized nations in Asia and Africa saw their moment had come. One liberation movement after another raised its defiant flag and colonialism began to crumble. This development was accelerated by the stance taken by the United States, which refused to support the efforts of the European powers to keep their colonies. The United States, in fact, demonstrated the opposite example by granting—albeit relying on a pre-war decision—independence to the Philippines in 1946.⁷

When India gained independence in 1947, the event had great symbolic significance. However, much worse than Asia was the situation in Africa, the least independent continent in the world. Many different factors now served the independence strivings there. During the propaganda battles that were a part of the Second World War, the Western Allies had repeatedly—for example, in the so-called Atlantic Declaration—proclaimed they would fight for the sovereignty of all nations. Backing their claims with this Declaration and many other moral principles stated by the Western Allies, the African nations embarked on a fight for independence lasting nearly two decades and resulting in the establishment of one new state after another. Some of these

6 G.C. Allen, "Japan: Between Two Worlds," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2168-2173; David Rees, "The Korean War," *ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 2214-2222; Tauno Kuosma, *Oman aikamme maailmanlaajuiset I: 1945-1953, Hyökkäävä kommunismi*. Porvoo, WSOY, 1962, pp. 40-52.

7 Olli Vehviläinen, "Aasian Kysymys" [The Question of Asia] in *Atomiajan historia*, p. 117.

had already established relations with the Soviet Union during their struggle for independence, and many aimed to establish a socialist society and economic system after having gained their independence.⁸

2. The Difficult Years of Economic Rebuilding

The political strength of a nation can be useless to its people during a time of peace. Instead, the current economic situation constantly influences the daily life of a nation. In the years following the war, a deep economic depression troubled Western Europe. In 1948, world trade on the whole reached the level it had been at in 1938, the last stable year preceding the war. In 1948, Europe, however, only managed to export 2/3 and import 4/5 of what it had in 1938.⁹ In fact, the economic regeneration of Europe was critically dependent on support from the United States, and this served to synchronize their goal-setting further, something that was necessitated by the political situation.

A week after the Fulton speech by Churchill, on March 12, 1947, President Truman made a declaration that contained the key elements of the United States' political practice that later became known as the Truman Doctrine. The central message of this declaration was that the United States would help free nations defend their sovereignty should they be threatened by outside forces or an internal coup.¹⁰

8 Sir Penderel Moon, "India: Independence and Partition," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2092-2098; concerning the liberation process in other Asian and African countries see Chapter 75 (vol. 8) and Chapter 85 (vol. 9) in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*; and Matti Lauerma, "Afrikan kysymys" [The Question of Africa], in *Atomiajan historia*, pp. 139-166.

9 Wilfrid Knapp, "Europe in Ruins," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2046-2053; Erkki Pihkala, "Maailman taloudellinen kehitys vv. 1945-1967" [Economic Development in the World 1945-67], in *Atomiajan historia*, p. 182.

10 Coral Bell, "The Truman Doctrine: Cold War Declared," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2130-2135; Antti Kovanen - Juhani Lehtola, *Politiikan maailma. Kansainvälisen politiikan hakuteos* [The World of Politics: A Dictionary of International Politics]. Helsinki, Otava: 1970, p. 190-191.

This doctrine, originally intended to support Turkey and Greece, soon found wider application when George C. Marshall, the Secretary of State of the United States, returned in the spring of 1947 from a conference of foreign ministers held in Moscow. Basing his opinion on the demands and views expressed by the Soviets on the one hand and on his own observations made during his return trip through Western Europe on the other, Marshall reached a rather extreme conclusion: unless the United States began to provide strong economic assistance to the Western European countries, they would face political and economic collapse.¹¹

President Truman accepted Marshall's plan to help Western Europe.¹² As a result, the United States gave Western Europe aid amounting to 13.4 million from 1948 to 1951. This investment paid off quickly. In four years the United States was able to 'rescue' Europe from the threat of communism that would have been the result of economic and political instability. In order to counter the remaining Soviet threat, the United States signed a number of treaties with Western European countries covering the period after the Marshall Plan (the last year of assistance according to the plan was 1951.) Altogether, between 1945 and 1955 the United States spent a total of 46.815 million dollars in aid to other countries, and by far the largest share went to help the countries of Western Europe.¹³

There were some conditions attached to the receipt of American economic aid. One condition was that the recipients had to pledge to work towards European economic integration and freer trade.¹⁴ The recipients also saw economic integration as a

11 Coral Bell, "The Truman Doctrine," pp. 2130-2135; Kuosa, *op.cit.*, p. 266-267.

12 In order to soften the expected Soviet opposition to the assistance plan, it was offered as a package to help rebuild all of Europe. Nevertheless, the Soviet Union rejected the plan, citing as a reason that it would entail American involvement in the domestic issues of the countries being helped. Among the countries which potentially could have received help, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, and Finland yielded to Soviet pressure and refused it. Kuosa, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

13 D.K. Adams, "Marshall Aid: Rebuilding Europe," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2136-2143; Kuosa, *op.cit.*, pp. 266-274.

means of eliminating the potential for future conflicts between their countries. With this purpose foremost in mind, the leading French economist, Jean Monet, developed the idea of joining together the coal and steel industries of the countries that had participated in the war. A plan for this was presented by French foreign minister Robert Schuman on May 9, 1950, a date that is now celebrated by the countries of the European Community as the birthday of modern Europe. In the following year, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) was founded by France, West Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries.¹⁵

Practical co-operation among these six countries started with the removal of customs duties among them and the elimination of export subsidies on domestic products, and these steps led to a previously unseen rate of growth in the trade of goods among them. Various factors distorting pricing and investment decisions remained, however. For instance, transportation costs, differing levels of social welfare and different taxation practices were discriminating factors. On these and other issues, numerous negotiations were held with strongly polarized positions being taken, but the ECSC overcame its initial difficulties. After a few years, it was ready to undertake further economic integration, and, in 1957, the same six countries founded the European Economic Community (EEC) with the Treaty of Rome.¹⁶

3. A Shift in the Winds of Culture

Already during the war, the most extreme anti-German sentiments were being widely expressed in public. Indeed, the very existence of Germany was questioned in a

14 Kuosa, *op.cit.*, p. 271.

15 Uwe Kitzinger, "Toward a United Europe," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 9, pp. 2340-2343; Riitta & Reino Hjerpe, *Eurooppa yhdyntyy* [Europe is Integrating]. Helsinki: VAPK-kustannus, 1992, pp. 45-46; *Eurooppa Muuttuu Eskoseni! Suomi, Eurooppa ja yhdyntyminen* [Europe is Changing, Esko, my Son! Finland, Europe and Integration]. Pori: TSL-opintokeskus, 1993, pp. 18-20.

16 Riitta & Reino Hjerpe, *op.cit.* p. 46. The Treaty of Rome, signed 25 March, 1957 by France, Germany, Italy, and Benelux, established the European Economic Community from 1 January, 1958.

book entitled *Need Germany Survive?*, published in London as early as 1943.¹⁷ From a cultural viewpoint, the Second World War was also catastrophic for the German cultural heritage. The Germans lost much of their former authority in cultural and educational issues. The view was that the entire German people had to be re-educated. The Western Allies regarded liberal adult education as one way to achieve this. For this purpose, adult education specialists were placed in the embassies of the Western occupying powers; it was their task to revive the *Volkshochschule* institution as an instrument of rehabilitation.¹⁸

The foreign experts, together with German adult educators, succeeded so well in this task that soon the Federal Republic of Germany had an extensive and efficient network of adult education institutions. This phase of re-educating the Germans is well-described by Franz Pöggeler in his article "'Education After Auschwitz" as a Perspective of Adult Education' as well as by Gunther Dohmen and Joachim H. Knoll in their writings.¹⁹ All efforts in adult education did not change the fact, however, that the chief cultural influences now came from outside Germany. More and more, the American mass culture, with its reliance on electronic communication and other types of modern technology, began to gain prominence in Europe. When, through their different funding programmes, the Americans were also able to support the arts and sciences in Europe, their influence in all fields of higher culture in Western Europe became significant. The United States of the 19th century had tried to solve many of its domestic problems by going West, bit by bit, conquering the continent for western civilization. After 1945, the

17 Julius Brauntal, *Need Germany Survive?* With an Introduction by Harold J. Laski. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1943.

18 Personal communication with Ronald Wilson, 8.6.1992. See also Wilson's brief description of his professional career in his application to the 1992 Meeting in Finland Seminar, in which he says he was an "Adult Education Specialist in British Commission/Embassy in Germany in 1947-58."

19 Pöggeler's article is in *Adult Education in Crisis Situations*, edited by Franz Pöggeler and Kalman Yaron; Gunther Dohmen, "Federal Republic of Germany: People's College (Volkshochschule)" in *Landmarks in International Adult Education. A Comparative Analysis*, edited by Alexander N. Charters and Ronald J. Hilton. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1989; Joachim H. Knoll, *Adult Education in Federal Republic of Germany*. Prague: European Centre for Leisure and Education, 1980.

scientific community in Europe, in a sense, did the same thing. For these European scientists and scholars, the West was across the Atlantic in the United States of America, and these scientists and leaders in various areas of social life who had furthered their education there became a new force in the rebuilding of Europe.²⁰

Another cultural centre that gained prominence was Moscow. In many ways, it represented ideals and values that were diametrically opposed to the central tenets of American culture. Viewed from Western Europe, the whole socialist system seemed like a culture of suppression and control, which did not grant its citizens basic rights, not to mention artistic and scientific freedom. The technological hardware and software used to maintain the socialist culture of Eastern Europe was also essentially different from the western practice. Part of the apparatus for sustaining the socialist culture was the occupying military forces, which were used to indicate the boundaries of freedom and cultural beliefs.²¹

Before the war, culture in Western Europe had been relatively uniform. As such, it had provided the people with a stable, if sometimes restrictive, spiritual and intellectual foundation, as well as with a sense of security, and, consequently, a sense of belonging to a community. After the war, the social culture, an important part of which was religion, no longer had the same role in society as a whole that it had before. As people began to recover from the material impoverishment caused by the war, they also began increasingly to face problems connected with their new welfare: secularization, loss of basic values, uncontrolled urbanization, disintegration of families. These modern problems began

20 Concerning scientific and cultural issues as well as wider utilization of new technology, see each of the six articles included in Chapter 87 in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 9, pp. 2410-2437; and Pekka Suvanto, "Henkinen kulttuuri ja teknologia toisen maailmansodan jälkeen" [Culture and Technology after the 2nd World War], in *Atomiajan historia*, edited by Kalervo Hovi, pp. 233-250.

21 John Keep, "End of Stalin," and J.N. Westwood, "Krushchev and After," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 9, pp. 2298-2303, 2304-2311; Alan Palmer, "Communist Takeovers in Eastern Europe," *ibid.*, vol. 8, pp. 2112-2117; Roger Morgan, "Tension in Eastern Europe," *ibid.*, vol. 9, pp. 2223-2225; Roger Morgan, "Eastern Europe: Hopes and Realities," *ibid.*, vol. 9, 2314-2315.

to manifest themselves in the form of alienation and other problems associated with affluent societies.²²

The forces trying to counter the cultural recession of post-war Western Europe were closely connected to material resources. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC), which was founded in 1948 to carry out the Marshall Plan, and that had its headquarters in Paris, also played a significant role in reinvigorating culture through its funding of pan-European cultural projects.²³ More clearly intended to function in the fields of culture and education was the Council of Europe, which was founded in 1949 and had its headquarters in Strasbourg, France. It was, for instance, given the task of protecting and promoting the cultural heritage, the ideals and the principles common to its member states. A main achievement of the early years of the Council of Europe was the agreement on European cultural cooperation that was negotiated and implemented under its auspices.²⁴

In 1960 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was founded to continue the work of the OEEC. From the beginning, it took the stand that development would require a renewal of educational systems and an emphasis on science and research. In these areas, it offered important help to its member states. Also, the means for supporting culture and education at the disposal of the Council of Europe were expanded when, in 1960, it founded the Council of Cultural Cooperation (CCC).²⁵

22 Peter Lane, "Living Standards and Social Welfare," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 8, pp. 2186-2192; Arnold Toynbee, "Religion: a Personal View," in *Purnell's History of the 20th Century*, vol. 10, pp. 2504-2513.

23 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 5-6.

24 *Kulttuuriyhteistyö Euroopassa. Nykytila ja näkymät* [Cultural Cooperation in Europe. Its Present Situation and Future Outlook]. Published with permission of UNESCO by Suomen UNESCO-toimikunta [Finnish UNESCO Commission], julkaisusarja N:o 3. Helsinki, 1974, p.11.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

V. THE FOUNDING OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION

1. European Cultural Centre's Interest in Adult Education

In May, 1948, the European Federalist Movement organized a conference in The Hague. Its ideological foundation was a federated Europe, and two short-term goals were set: a Council of Europe and a European Centre of Culture were to be established. The first goal was realized relatively soon, since, as previously mentioned, the Council of Europe was founded the following year.¹

Among the European federalists, there were also some adult educators. They, as well as other activists in culture and education, continued their efforts to establish the European Cultural Centre (E.C.C.), which began working in Geneva in October, 1950. Its first director was Denis de Rougemont, who through his actions, showed that he considered adult education an important part of the federalist movement and the responsibilities of his Centre. Having himself worked in the federalist movement, Schouten (who would later become Director of the European Bureau of Adult Education) noted that Rougemont did not lack in interest in "education populaire," but that its turn might not come until some other priority tasks had first been completed.²

Denis de Rougemont's idea was to found the Foyers de Culture (Community Centres) in countries of Western Europe that would act as centres for the exchange of ideas about developing a new Europe. This idea of establishing Community Centres in Western European countries corresponded, to a large extent, to that of establishing a *Volkshochschule* in each German community. However, the European Federalists soon recognized that the scale and nature of the two plans were very different. The re-open-

1 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 3.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

ing of former *Volkshochschulen* and the creation of new ones was based on a pre-war tradition, whereas the Community Centres that were to have been established in other Western European countries had no predecessors. Even the adult education tradition itself was relatively weak in some countries.³

By definition, those involved in the Federalist Movement strove to unify Western Europe. Included in their ideology was a search for removal of obstacles that separated European nations in order to make room for integrating measures. However, adult educators of the early 1950s soon learned that Europe could not be changed in a year. To realize his idea of having Community Centres in Western European countries, de Rougemont asked for help from the European Youth Campaign, which had been founded in 1950 with its headquarters in Paris, and with American funding. The European Youth Campaign agreed to call two meetings (held in Reims, in October, 1952), one of which was to work on the establishment of a European Secretariat of the Community Centres (*Foyers de Culture*) and the other for discussions with representatives of adult education organizations.⁴

From the beginning of the first meeting, those in attendance realized that they faced major problems. The first was the issue of membership criteria—in other words, which countries should be accepted into the new association. In the course of the meeting, a Belgian representative suggested that the whole idea should be limited to just “the six”, that is, the members of the European Coal and Steel Community countries: Germany, Italy, France and the Benelux countries.⁵ Consequently, all Southern and Northern European countries, as well as the English-speaking ones (England, Wales, Scotland, and

3 The state of adult education is outlined in historical overviews of different Western European countries in Peter Jarvis, ed., *Perspectives on Adult Education and Training in Europe*, passim; and in national monographs by the European Centre for Education and Leisure (Prague).

4 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

5 A Memorandum by G.H.L. Schouten (no date), European Bureau of Adult Education Archives (hereafter referred to as EBAEA); Schouten, pp. 9-10.

Ireland), would be excluded from membership. Had this course of action been followed, one of the basic ideas underlying the unification efforts would have been eliminated. Therefore, the Belgian initiative was overruled.

Finally, after much discussion, the first of the two meetings concluded that the major idea of founding a secretariat for community centres was not yet ripe. Also, the meeting of the representatives of the adult education organizations that began the following day had to accept—as had the meeting of the centres' representatives—that Denis de Rougemont's goal of having a secretariat for community centres was unrealistic and impossible. When the whole idea was rejected, Denis de Rougemont proposed the establishment of an adult education secretariat in Geneva to work under the auspices of the European Cultural Centre. Although they were well aware of the financial significance of the offer and of the wholly uncertain future they were facing, the representatives of the adult education organizations refused the offer.⁶ The grounds on which the offer was rejected can be seen in the preparatory work that was done for the next meeting, which was to be of great significance in the founding of the European Bureau of Adult Education.

Before this next meeting was held, three new starting points were prepared, and these represented a clear departure from the general atmosphere of the previous meetings:

- 1) Cooperation in adult education should not be limited to the "Europe of the Six," but should be planned to cover the "Whole of Europe."
- 2) The new organization for cooperation should not trespass into the areas where international cooperation already existed (International Federation of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centres, International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations).

6 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

- 3) The European Cultural Centre should not hold as dominant a position in the project as it had before.

Against this background, 25 delegates from 10 countries met in Geneva in May, 1953.⁷

2. A Comprehensive Plan for Organizing the Field

A surprise awaited the delegates. When the preliminary reports had been heard and it was suggested that a conference committee would work out a synthesis of these reports to use as a basis for further work, the Director of the European Cultural Centre, Denis de Rougemont, announced that the Centre would like to suggest a comprehensive plan for organizing cooperation in European adult education. It was inconceivable that the delegates could refuse to listen; after all, they had been invited as guests of the E.C.C. The key elements of the E.C.C. plan were the following:

- 1) For developing adult education in Europe, founding an umbrella association of national adult education organizations.
- 2) The E.C.C. would organize a secretariat to perform the tasks of the organization. It would be led by a 20-member European Council of Adult Education (ECAE), which in turn would name a five-member to seven-member Executive Board to take care of practical matters.
- 3) The E.C.C. wanted the European Council of Adult Education and its secretariat to become essentially independent. Thus, it was suggested they be funded by membership fees collected from the participating organizations, as well as by public and private subsidies.
- 4) A Provisional Executive Committee (PEC) would be named to carry out the tasks essential for founding the organization (handling membership applications, preparing a budget, preparing for the first meeting of the Council, clarifying the necessary legal factors, etc.).⁸

⁷ Ibid., p. 12.

It is quite possible the delegates had attended the meeting in order to prepare a similar, if not identical suggestion that was now presented to them in the name of the European Cultural Centre. A lively discussion ensued. A question was raised, for instance, whether the delegates had the authority to accept any suggestions whatsoever. It was also asked whether or not majority decisions could be made if a consensus could not be reached. Finally, a resolution, which, according to Schouten (who was present at the meeting) contained many *conflicting* elements, was unanimously accepted. What was probably most significant, however, was that further preparation of the project was given to a provisional executive committee, which thus became responsible for the future of the EBAE.⁹

When assessing the particular procedures applied at the Geneva meeting, and noting especially the deviation of these procedures from the Nordic practice, an analogue comes to my mind. The initiative for founding a new world-wide association for adult education was very much in the air at the 1972 UNESCO Conference in Tokyo. Had the delegates representing their governments not been so sensitive and fastidious about the limits of their credentials, a new organization might have been established. However, the Nordic, as well as some other delegates, considered it impossible that they, as representatives of their governments, could get involved in the establishment of a cooperative agency for non-governmental organizations. This stance of non-commitment was confirmed by the fact that, despite governmental credentials, most Nordic delegates came from the biggest non-governmental organizations in adult education in their countries. Since the liberal procedure at the Geneva meeting in 1953 could not be applied at the Tokyo Conference, Roby Kidd¹⁰ took the initiative and proposed the estab-

8 Notes by G.H.L. Schouten (no date), EBAEA.

9 Schouten, *op.cit.*, pp 15-19.

10 Roby Kidd was Professor at Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, Canada. He became the founding Secretary-General for the International Council for Adult Education.

lishment of a much needed world organization, the International Council for Adult Education.¹¹

The following people were appointed to the Provisional Executive Committee of the EBAE, and a place for the following organizations was secured: Mr. F. Milligan (National Institute of Adult Education, U.K.), Dr. Middendorf (West Germany & Austria), Mr. A. Leger (France and Walloon), Mr. O.V.L. Guermonprez (the Netherlands & Flanders), Mr. E. Halvorsen (Scandinavia), Mr. E. Lopez Cardozo (Settlements), one place reserved for Italy, one representative from the European Cultural Centre, and one representative from the European Youth Campaign.¹²

3. The Resistance and Reservations of Potential Members

From its ranks, the Provisional Executive Committee selected Oscar Guermonprez as its President and decided to ask Bob Schouten to become its secretary. Schouten accepted the position, and prepared an outline of the situation and the prevailing moods under which the umbrella association would have to be founded. The results of his inquiries indicated the following:

West Germany was still occupied by the Western allies. To gain a more independent status and to create more contacts abroad, German adult educators were very eager to participate in the planned association. The problem was that there was no coherent national view or a general German standpoint, since in adult education, as well as in many other areas, matters were organized provincially.

11 For more on this topic, see J. Sullivan, "International Council for Adult Education," in *Lifelong Education for Adults. An International Handbook*; and Budd Hall, "The International Council for Adult Education," in *International Organizations in Education*. Edited by Michael D. Stephens. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1988, pp. 33-35.

12 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

In two different senses, *France* was a somewhat problematic partner in building international cooperation. According to Schouten, even organizing domestic cooperation was not the strongest point of the French. It might have been partly for this reason that they called for more precise philosophical goals for the joint European organization than those presented up to that point. The French, by the way, still continue to search for more precise goals for European cooperation.

The English-speaking group (that included Wales, Scotland and Ireland as well as England) might have been ready to participate in far-reaching theoretical speculations, but when it came time to decide on what course of action to take, they would always ask for further clarification of the issues. Bob Schouten also had the impression that, as individuals, Frank Milligan and Ms. Haynes (both with the National Institute of Adult Education) were quite ready for action, but that the Institute itself, as well as the Workers' Educational Association, was holding back.¹³

The Scandinavian countries, as Schouten called the Nordic group of countries, were ready to listen eagerly to the other parties and to discuss developing international cooperation with them. However, they were unwilling to become committed to any ideological background or structure intended for the new organization. When Roby Kidd encouraged the Nordic countries to join the International Council for Adult Education some two decades later, these countries hesitated because they feared that the Council might weaken the role of UNESCO as a promoter of adult education.¹⁴

In this situation, it was hardly surprising that conflict arose about the text of the invitation for the first Provisional Executive Committee meeting. The original text was written in French by the President of PEC, Oscar Guernonprez. This text was "translated" into English by Frank Milligan, who noted the following:

13 Schouten, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 21; personal communication with Professor Alan Thomas who recalls Roby Kidd's statement concerning the Nordic countries.

"I have omitted the reference to European political and military relations because I think the English organizations will be interested in the scheme, if at all, solely [sic] from the point of view of its help to adult education and will not be favourably influenced by any reference to the political or strategical concept of Europe. This may be wrong of them, but, as in any event it is not directly relevant to what we want to achieve I do not think anything is lost, but perhaps something is gained by leaving it out!"¹⁵

Oscar Guernonprez accepted many of the changes made by Milligan, since he felt the French and the English invitations did not need to have identical texts.¹⁶ When Milligan left out references to the European Cultural Centre and to European culture, Guernonprez felt he had gone too far; this could be viewed as an affront to Denis de Rougemont and the staff of the European Youth Campaign and UNESCO's European institutes in Gauting and Hamburg. Milligan suggested re-writing this particularly controversial paragraph in the invitation as follows:

"to encourage among those engaged in adult education in Europe a greater consciousness of the special contribution of European culture to world civilization."¹⁷

Denis de Rougemont thought this new formulation was weaker than the original, but accepted it, despite being disappointed by the fact that the E.C.C. that he led would no longer be mentioned in the invitations. In this matter, however, President Guernonprez took the firm stand that the patronage of the E.C.C. of this planned new umbrella association would get mentioned in the invitations.¹⁸ It is interesting to note here that de Rouge-

15 Ibid., pp. 23-24.

16 From a Scandinavian perspective, this kind of attitude concerning meeting invitations is *unacceptable*. An invitation should be one and the same for all those invited. If similar violations of sensible and lawful practices took place in other areas of the preparation work, it is understandable the Scandinavians were initially reluctant to commit themselves to this kind of organization.

17 Schouten, op.cit., p. 24.

18 Ibid., pp. 23-25.

mont's opinion was asked for in the first place, although in this matter he was officially an outsider. His prominent position in this process shows clearly how closely the European federalist movement and organizations through which it operated were connected to the founding of the EBAE.

Understanding the disputes and quarrels preceding the founding of the EBAE can be quite a taxing process. Nevertheless, I cannot continue without mentioning one further interlude. Ms. Haynes, Deputy Secretary of the National Institute of Adult Education (England and Wales), had inquired whether she could participate in the upcoming PEC meeting as a representative of the United States Adult Education Association. This matter was delicate for two reasons. First, the NIACE and its President, Edward Hutchinson, were very reserved about the whole issue of European cooperation. Secondly, the presence of a representative of an American organization in the meeting would only make matters worse for those who believed there already was excessive American influence in Western Europe. The matter was solved circuitously: Ms. Haynes was given permission to participate in the meeting as an observer.¹⁹

In addition to the small number of persons involved, there were also some interested bodies besides those promoting the idea of cooperation on a fixed basis in all Western European nations. The most important was the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations, founded in 1948. Since most of its members were European, its headquarters were in London. I found evidence that, in England and Sweden, national Workers' Educational Associations opposed the idea of founding a general European cooperative organization.²⁰ The attitudes of English and Swedish national associations are crucial because of their dominant position in the International

19 Ibid., pp. 25-26.

20 A memorandum concerning the EBAE by Sven-Arne Stahres (Swedish Workers' Educational Association) 12 June, 1962, the Archives of Swedish Adult Education Association [Folkbildnings-förbundet]; E.M. Hutchinson to Timo Toivainen 14 May, 1993; Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

Federation. From the Federation's viewpoint, all international cooperation on a general level threatened to drain energy from its own activities.

Finally, the Provisional Executive Committee meeting was held in Bergen, Holland, on November 30, 1953. An agreement was reached on guidelines for the General Assembly that would formally mark the founding of the organization. Preparations should have been completed by January 15, 1954, but they dragged on. Fortunately, the preparatory work forged closer contacts among those participating in the process, so that, even if the Bureau had not yet been formally founded, activities, meetings, conferences and even a publication resulted from the efforts. The publication in question was the first issue of the *Notes and Studies* bulletin that came out in 1954 in English, French, and German, and that later served as the information channel for the Bureau for several years.²¹

Despite these and other similar difficulties, the initiative continued to develop and came a step closer to completion as soon as the founding members were able to choose a host country for the Bureau's office. Yet the selection process was not an easy one. At that time, it was out of the question that Germany would host the office. From a continental point of view, especially that of France, England was not European enough to host the office. On the other hand, no one considered that the level of French organizational skills warranted the location of the European headquarters in Paris. The possibility of locating the office in any of the Nordic countries was too radical. The Mediterranean countries could hardly be considered, because their adult education systems were far behind those of other Western European countries.²²

21 Schouten, op.cit., pp. 26-31; *Notes and Studies*, vol. 1 (1954), No. 1.

22 For further information concerning the stage of development in adult education in the Mediterranean Countries, consult, for example, *Perspectives on Adult Education and Training in Europe*, edited by Peter Jarvis, pp. 204-274; and Marcie Boucouvalas, *Adult Education in Greece*. Monographs on Comparative and Area Studies in Adult Education. Vancouver: the Centre for Continuing Education, the University of British Columbia in co-operation with the International Council for Adult Education, 1988, esp. Chapters 1-2.

Consequently, Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands were in a priority position. Of these the Netherlands had, in the monetary sense, the most to offer to European cooperation, and the office of the European Bureau was located in a residential folk high school in Bergen in the Netherlands. The school provided office space next to the Foundation office for the European Work of the Dutch Folk High Schools. It was a practical approach to combining the activities of the two associations. Collaboration was also established on a personal level. Bob Schouten, director of the Foundation for the European Work of the Dutch Folk High Schools, began to serve as the Bureau's honorary director with part-time clerical help.²³

The founding meeting of the European Bureau of Adult Education was finally held, after many difficulties and lengthy preparation, in Marly-le-Roi, France, on November 28, 1958. The full constitution that it approved appears as Appendix A. Considering the events leading to the founding of the Bureau, Article 2 is interesting.

Article 2

"The Bureau, an independent body established on the initiative of the European Centre of Culture, proposes to pursue its own work in the general spirit of the aims defined in article 3 of the Constitution of the E.C.C.

Its registered office is at the E.C.C. but its executive office may eventually be elsewhere."²⁴

This article raises a question of the organization's independence if its aims were tied to the constitution of another. This strong link is understandable because it was impossible to break all contacts with the E.C.C. and sever all the ties. Disappointed that the Bureau remained uncommitted, as early as 1953, a representative of the European Youth Campaign had noted that the Campaign had a

23 Edward Hutchinson, "A Case Study in Co-operation - the European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Convergence*, vol VI (1973), Nos. 3 and 4, p. 42; and Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

24 *Constitution of the European Bureau of Adult Education* decided upon at the General Assembly of November 28th 1958, Marly-le-Roi, France, EBAEA.

hard time supporting an organization "whose European intentions were so weakly formulated."²⁵ The concession in Article 2 must have been necessary to avoid having the E.C.C. turn its back on the Bureau as well.

By the time of the Marly-le-Roi meeting in 1958, the Bureau had already been under preparation for six years, but still did not exist in a legal sense. It was not until the 1964 General Assembly in Strasbourg that decisions were made that allowed the Bureau to be legally registered. The decision was to make it a foundation in accordance with Dutch law, which allowed its registration. This measure was seen as the most suitable procedure, partly because, by this time, the Bureau secretariat was located in the Netherlands.²⁶

4. Who Founded Whom?

Using the Nordic tradition of running popular associations as a point of departure, any new umbrella organization or co-ordinating body should be founded by future member-organizations and should consist of them. This principle leads to an interesting philosophical and practical question: Can, in any case, the central organization exist before the genesis of its components, its members? In theory, the answer is probably "No", but practical experience has never respected theoretical insights. In the case of the EBAE, it was, to a large extent, necessary that the central organization come into being before most of its future members, because only a few national umbrella organizations existed in Europe in the early 1950s. Bob Schouten refers to this fact and attributes new efforts to establish national co-ordinating bodies as a consequence of the establishment of the EBAE.²⁷ One can easily agree with Schouten's conclusion.

25 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

26 Minutes of the EBAE General Assembly in Strasbourg in 1964, EBAEA.

27 G.H.L. Schouten, "European Adult Education Ten Years after the Montreal Conference," in *Convergence*, vol. III (1970), No. 2, p. 74.

One may argue that, in the absence of a strong drive by national organizations to establish a European co-operative organization, it was, to a large extent, necessary for an outside party to intervene and take the initiative. Willem Bax, Director of the Bureau (1971-) after Bob Schouten, states clearly that "The European Bureau of Adult Education was established by the European Cultural Centre ..."²⁸ When the membership actually joined the Bureau, it accepted this factual version of its history. However, that history was very much reflected in its slow setting-up process in the 1950s and 1960s. Even after formal registration of the Bureau in 1964, some prominent national co-ordinating bodies, such as that of Sweden, hesitated to join.²⁹

Derek Legge, the first Individual Associate of the EBAE and a long-standing faculty member (1949-72) in the Department of Adult Education at Manchester University, candidly states that there was "much muddled thinking and ideological friction" in the preparatory process of establishing the Bureau. Instead of blaming other nationalities, Legge refers to the suspicious stance toward the Bureau taken by those involved in the U.K. Divergent opinions were expressed by representatives of different nationalities and also by diverse sectors in the field. The reserved and opposing stance of the International Federation of Workers' Educational Associations is an example, referred to earlier. There were also other potential rivals in the field, such as the European Circle of Friends of Peoples' Colleges and the Communaute des Anciens de Mondsee-Marly.³⁰ The emergence of rivals in the common arena seems to strengthen the cohesion of any group, no matter how fractured it may be. This tendency certainly contributed to the founding of the Bureau.

28 Bill Bax, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Training Adult Educators in Western Europe*, edited by Peter Jarvis and Alan Chadwick. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge and the EBAE, 1991, p. 228.

29 A Memorandum by Peter Engberg, Swedish National Federation of Adult Education, to the author of this study, 15 May 1993, incl. documents.

30 Derek Legge, "The European Bureau of Adult Education," in *International Organizations in Education*. Edited by Michael D. Stephens. Guildford and King's Lynn: Routledge, 1988, pp. 87-88.

After my research in this area, I agree with Derek Legge that emphasis should be placed on the individuals from the adult education community who implemented the E.C.C. initiative. Bob Schouten's commitment was especially remarkable.³¹ To a large extent, it was not only beneficial for the Bureau; it was a necessity to overcome the major problem facing the EBAE. The membership was ready only "to buy milk", that is, to pay for the services produced for them by the Bureau. None of them, however, wanted "to keep a cow alive", that is, to pay sufficient membership fees to cover the basic maintenance costs.³²

In this situation, Bob Schouten, with his good relationships with the Dutch authorities and other potential helping bodies, was irreplaceable. His strong position was indirectly confirmed by Mr. L.B. van Ommen, Director of Youth Welfare, Adult Education and Sport in the [Dutch] Ministry of Cultural Affairs, in his address to the EBAE 20th Anniversary Meeting. He appealed "to all countries taking part in the Bureau's activities ... to give adequate financial support."³³ Despite this appeal, the Bureau continued to rely on the generosity of the Dutch government. In his speech, Mr. van Ommen did not fail to refer to the Treaty of Rome, the formal charter of formation of the European Community.³⁴

31 Ibid., pp. 88-89.

32 Edward Hutchinson, "A Case Study in Co-operation -the European Bureau of Adult Education," in *Convergence*, vol. VI (1973), Nos. 3 and 4, p. 42.

33 An Address by Mr. L.B. van Ommen at the 20th Anniversary Meeting of the EBAE (September, 1952), in *Convergence*, vol VI (1973), Nos 3 and 4, p. 47.

34 Ibid., p. 44.

VI. THE ROOTS OF THE MEETING EUROPE COURSES

1. UNESCO's Elsinore Conference

UNESCO's first world conference on adult education was held in Elsinore, Denmark, in 1949. Fifty-four of its participants (68%) came from Western European countries; fourteen (18%) from North America and only eleven (14%) from the rest of the world combined. The Europeans and Americans dominated the conference, not only because of their superior numbers, but also because they had much stronger traditions in adult education. They represented a much higher degree of professionalism in adult education than the other delegates, who, in many respects, were there as observers rather than as active and influential participants.¹ It is therefore understandable that the Europeans and the North Americans were the ones who were able to continue cooperating after the UNESCO conference. Naturally, an essential prerequisite for this continuing exchange was that both North America and Europe had the financial resources to facilitate international contacts.

Before proceeding to the origins of European cooperation in adult education, it is useful to demonstrate statistically the effects of World War II on international exchange. The participation in the World Association for Adult Education² and UNESCO Conferences in 1929 and 1949 illustrates the regression that occurred.

1 A.M. Hely, *Uusi aikuiskavatus* [New Adult Education]. Helsinki: Tammi, 1968, pp. 14-15.

2 World Association for Adult Education (WAAE) was founded by Albert Mansbridge in 1918. Its major activity was to promote conferences of adult educators such as the ones held at London in 1922, Cambridge in 1929, and Vienna in 1931. WAAE was unable to survive the turbulence of the 1930s and World War II. It ceased operation formally in 1946. For more details, see Jarvis, *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education*, p. 366, and Bernard Jennings, "Albert Mansbridge and the First World Association for Adult Education," in *Convergence*, vol. XVII (1984), No. 4, pp. 55-62.

Table 1 Participation in WAAE (1929) and UNESCO (1949) Conferences.		
Year	1929	1949
Countries represented	40	25
European countries	21 (52.5%)	13 (52%)
Participants	374	79
European participants	246 (65.7%)	54 (68.4%)

Table 1³ leads to the following observations:

1) World War II not only closed down the activities of the WAAE but also considerably diminished the material resources available for international exchange in adult education years after the war.

2) Despite the heavy cost of World War II for Western Europe and North America, their recovery from the war was, for different reasons, more rapid than that of the rest of the countries involved in the war.

3) World War II did not change the major underlying structural factors on which national and international developments in diverse countries had to be based.

2. American and European Backgrounds

The Europeans began their post-war cooperation efforts by organizing a series of conferences on cooperation among folk high schools (Folk High Schools and Residential

3 World Conference on Adult Education: Cambridge [U.K.], 1929. London, World Association for Adult Education, 1930, pp. v-xxiv; Summary Report of the International Conference on Adult Education: Elsinore, Denmark 19-25 June 1949. Paris: UNESCO, 1949, pp. 36-38. According to Peter Jarvis, in Peter Jarvis, in *An International Dictionary of Adult and Continuing Education* (p. 366), "Nearly 300 members and 33 national delegates attended [the 1929 Conference]." Referring to the same Conference (*International Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. I, p. 95) Roby Kidd and Colin Titmus provide the number as "300 representatives from 24 countries." According to the Conference minutes, 64 government delegates, 314 fraternal delegates, and 4 officials of the WAAE attended. The number of countries was 40.

Adult Colleges) at a European level in 1951, 1952, 1953, and 1956. During the 1956 conference in Furstenneck, West Germany, the decision was made to hold an American-European conference on residential adult education the following year.⁴ This conference, which was held in Bergen, the Netherlands, was sponsored by EBAE and the Adult Education Association of the United States (Section on Residential Adult Education, led by Myles Horton.) Unlike the mostly incidental meetings prior to the war, European-American cooperation in the field of adult education was now becoming more varied and structured.

Although no keynote speaker had been invited to the Bergen conference, it can be said that, through his address, Myles Horton, Director of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, assumed that position. His extemporaneous speech was held in such high esteem that Horton was obliged to put it in writing afterwards. He began by noting that, in general, there was too much conformity in American society, though when it came to folk high school (FHS) activities there was not nearly enough. In his view, it was erroneous to even talk about any American FHS movement at all. Thus, he could only present his own ideas about what residential adult education could be at its best. The key elements of his presentation were the following:

- (1) In terms of overall philosophy . . . there is less diversity than in subject matter. The one unifying factor in residential adult schools is a goal or direction based on value judgement. The more tangible, practical aspects of our residential adult schools are less important than the philosophy and purpose which is of an unfolding nature and is difficult to define.
- (2) The educational program, however, should focus on a definable step leading to the goal or, to put it another way, the point of departure should be [a] recognized need . . . examined in the light of the overall purpose. Such an educational concept enables students 'to hitch their wagon to a star'.

4 A supplement sent out with the Invitation to the conference in Bergen, Holland, contained a report on cooperation among the Europeans from 1951 to 1956, EBAEA.

- (3) The constantly changing program at Highlander is based on social and economic issues that affect people in our part of the United States. I am extremely interested in Oscar Ghermonprez's⁵ comparison of Allard Soog at Bakkeveen here in Holland with Highlander in his welcome address. Both started in 1932 and both base their program on meeting needs of individuals as they are related to situations that affect their total lives.
- (4) Our first program grew from the problems of people facing a depression. Later we developed programs to help unorganized workers and farmers and non-voting citizens. Now we are concerned with problems of desegregation and integration in the public schools . . .⁶

Horton's rhetoric did not reach the professional level of the European folk educator, but the philosophical core of his speech was such a fascinating representation of FHS thinking that it is easy to understand its strong impression on his European colleagues. Despite his American background, this man was speaking like a prize student of N.F.S. Grundtvig. In fact, that is what he was. In studying Grundtvig's influence on adult educators, Dr. Roger W. Axford elevates Myles Horton, founder of Highlander Folk School, opponent of racial segregation, unionist and social democrat, into that small group of North Americans who were both familiar with Grundtvig's intellectual heritage and who applied it in their work in various ways. Axford's high opinion of Horton is perhaps best exemplified when he asks where Dr. Martin Luther King found his method of non-violent resistance and civil disobedience on which he based his fight, and then answers: "It was at Highlander Folk School under the leadership of Miles [sic] Horton and his team".⁷

5 The EBAE's first President and a Dutch FHS professional.

6 "People's Needs Make An Educational Program." *A Conference Paper* (dated Aug. 17, 1957) by Myles Horton in American European Conference on Residential Adult Education in Bergen (The Netherlands), June 30th - July 7th, 1957.

7 Roger W. Axford: "The World Impact of N.F.S. Grundtvig's Adult Education Ideas, and the Folk School!" in *Adult Education Research Conference Papers*. Arizona State University, March 22-23-24, 1985, Tempe, Arizona.

When he was in Bergen, the Netherlands, speaking at a conference about the potential of residential adult education, Myles Horton could not know that his own school (symbolically standing like a lighthouse atop a hill in Monteagle, Tennessee) had only a few years remaining. The Citizenship School Program (Montgomery Movement) developed at Highlander and spread through the southern states by women and men such as Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King Jr., met with such widespread opposition in many of the southern states that, in 1960, the State of Tennessee took legal action to shut the school down. The judge who announced the decision declared that the school building would be confiscated but that the law was powerless to remove the thoughts that had already taken root in the minds of thousands of people. Thus, after 29 years of operation, Highlander was closed in 1961. The school itself was re-established near Knoxville, Tennessee,⁸ and has gone on in the 1980s and 1990s to become a leading center for education and environmental activism.

Soon after the school was shut down, the Highlander building was burned by extremists. When that happened, Myles Horton, according to his autobiography, "was chairing an international residential adult education conference in Germany."⁹ Horton was referring to the Rendsburg Conference that will be dealt with later in this chapter.

The ideals of human rights and non-violent struggle did not go up in smoke, however. The folk singer and headmaster's wife, Zilphia Horton, had, in the 1940's, learned a certain song from the striking tobacco workers in South Carolina, which soon became the symbol for Highlander. Folk singer Pete Seeger spread the song through the entire country; and, when the President of the United States mentioned it in his address to Congress in 1964, it was launched to the whole world. Very few know the names of

8 Myles Horton: "Folkhögskolan i USA," in *Folkhögskolan i Norden / Pohjolan Kansanopisto. Årsbok 1966*, årgång 6. Det Nordiska Folkehögskoleråd: Uddevalla 1967, pp. 11-17; Adams with Horton, *op.cit.*, *passim*; Glen, *op.cit.*, *passim*; Aimee Horton, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

9 Horton, *The Long Haul*, p. 110.

Myles Horton or Highlander School, but, wherever you go in this world, both human rights activists and their enemies know the song "We Shall Overcome."¹⁰

In discussing group dynamics and group facilitators, Australian theorist Mark Tennant mentions Highlander Folk School as one of the classic examples of collective adult education, along with the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, Canada, the Labor Colleges in the USA, the Danish co-operatives, and the Scandinavian Study Circles.¹¹ In studies that have achieved a lasting reputation in the English-speaking world, Leonard P. Oliver and Henry Blid expertly discuss Scandinavian Study Circles.¹²

I have chosen to highlight the involvement of Myles Horton and Highlander Folk School, and also to consider that of another American, Royce M. Pitkin, because of their contribution to the preparatory stages of the Meeting Europe courses. Although their efforts were substantial, they were also less than successful; however, historical research must recognize and record both successful and unsuccessful efforts. Since, as will be shown in sub-chapter VI.6., the helping hand offered by Horton and Pitkin was not accepted by the EBAE; the Bureau leadership turned away from any American contribution to the courses, despite the fact that they were originally an American initiative.

To further elucidate the origins of the Meeting Europe course series, I must refer to another lecture by an American, one given two years later at an American-European Conference on Residential Adult Education at Badische Bauernhochschule (Tiengen, West Germany) by Royce M. Pitkin, President of Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont. He made, among others, the following points:

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Mark Tennant, *Psychology and Adult Education*. The Routledge Series in Adult Education, Series editor Peter Jarvis. Routledge: Worcester, Great Britain, 1988, pp. 123-125.

¹² Leonard P. Oliver, *Study Circles. Coming Together For Personal Growth and Social Change*. Cabin John, Maryland: Seven Locks Press Publishers, 1987; Henry Blid, *Education By The People - Study Circles*. Reprint. Oskarshamn: Swedish Workers' Educational Association, 1989.

"I suppose it was because Bishop Grundtbig [sic] saw clearly the need for young adults of Denmark to learn more about their culture and the problems of their nation a century ago that he advocated the establishment of folk schools. Now we know that the need around the world for continued learning by adults increases every year.

The residential adult school can be a place for free discussion, for listening to the ideas of others, for exchanging opinions, for expression and for growth in understanding. It is not a mass operation, but is small enough to permit each adult student to become acquainted with every other student, and it makes it possible for people to be removed, even for [a] short period, from the distractions and pressures of their business and profession. The residential school is a place in which individuals can get a new look at life and a fresh approach to its problems. It is relaxed, informal and simple. It is a place where a person can be himself, where he can speak frankly and honestly without having to maintain a formal appearance."¹³

In a worldwide context, adult education reached an important milestone in the following year (1960) when the second UNESCO World Conference was held in Montreal. For example, the concept of *continuing education* was widely established in professional circles only after the Montreal conference. Also, the growing need for adult education was widely acknowledged for the first time in Montreal.¹⁴ Thus, Pitkin's lecture over a year earlier indicates his clear understanding of how adult education worldwide was developing at this time.

The folk high school boom continued strongly in the EBAE. Two well-known FHS people, Roar Skovmand and Asbjörn Mandøe, compiled a description of the Danish folk high school, the original model, for use by the EBAE.¹⁵ The idea that the Dan-

13 "Residential Adult Education, Why and How?". *A Conference Paper* by Royce S. Pitkin. Aug. 23-30, 1959, EBAEA.

14 See Hely, *op. cit.*, chapter V.

ish FHS institution might be universally applicable was further strengthened by an article in the English newspaper, *The Guardian*, describing a FHS in Ghana, founded with donations coming chiefly from the Nordic countries.¹⁶

European-American cooperation was also furthered in a seminar held in Canada, which was organized in conjunction with UNESCO's Montreal conference.¹⁷ A decisive step was taken in the following American-European FHS Conference held in 1962 at the well-known Rendsburg FHS in West Germany, where establishing a "Meeting Europe" course series was proposed.¹⁸ Before examining the proposal and how it was developed, attention should be paid to the question why, in spite of doubts, the seed fell onto fertile soil, or, in other words, why the suggestion for a Meeting Europe course series was so well received by the Bureau leadership. On the other hand, what difficulties the unification of Europe might have caused within the EBAE should be examined.

15 "The Danish Folk-High-Schools" A Paper by Roar Skovmand and Ashbjörn Mandöe. Ry and Copenhagen, May 30th, 1960, EBAEA.

16 "African Folk High School" by Wolfgang Sonntag. *The Guardian*, June 10, 1960. The following articles in the yearbook *Folkhögskolan i Norden / Pohjolan Kansanopisto*, 1966, illustrate the spread of Folk High Schools in different countries and parts of the world:

- H. Engberg-Pedersen (Denmark) & M.O.K. (=M.O. Karttunen, Finland) & T.R. (=Torgil Ringmar, Sweden): De nordiska folkhögskolorna och U-landsarbetet.
- Philip G.H. Hopkins: Storbritanniens folkhögskolor.
- Myles Horton: Folkhögskolan i USA.
- Shulamith Katz-Nelson: Projekt inom vuxenutbildningen (Israel).
- Kurt Meissner: Folkhögskolor i Tyskland.
- Teodor Mistewicz: Folkhögskolan i Polen.
- K.S. Muniswamy: Folkhögskolor i Mysore, Indien.
- G.H.L. Schouten: Den nederländska folkhögskolan, dess nu varande verksamhet och dess planer för framtiden.
- Erica Simon: Folkhögskolan i Frankrike.
- Herman Weber: Österrikes folkhögskolor (Volksbildungsheime).

17 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

18 G.H.L. Schouten to the participants of the Rendsburg Conference, July 29th - August 4th, 1962. October 2nd, 1962, EBAEA.

3. Folk High School Activists Dominate Bureau Leadership

Three main areas of development became central to the EBAE: (1) residential adult education, (2) non-residential adult education, and (3) rural areas. In the statistics describing the activities of the Bureau during the first decade of its operation, the division of resources among these three areas clearly shows the predominance gained by residential adult education.¹⁹

The emphasis on residential education is understandable, because it was an important common denominator among the member countries of the EBAE. A similar type of residential adult education was a significant form of adult education in Holland, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Austria and all the Nordic countries, so it was natural that this sector would get more attention than the others.

Even though residential education was common in EBAE countries, it would not, in principle, have been necessary for a majority of the Bureau's leadership to come from this sector. However, this is what happened. The first President of EBAE, O.V.L. Guermontprez from Holland, had a FHS background, as did the long-time director-treasurer, his countryman G.H.L. Schouten, who originally worked for the Foundation for the European Work of the Dutch Folk High School and took care of the Bureau tasks, along with his post at the Foundation. In addition to these two key positions, at least two other members of the eight-member board were FHS professionals and other board members, through their work, were also in contact with the residential sector. Thus, the role the Bureau assumed becomes understandable.²⁰ As a Finnish expression puts it, "Who rides oxen, speaks of oxen." It was both understandable and sensible to

19 Schouten, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, 71-85.

20 Schouten: *op. cit.* pp. 23, 40.

channel activities to that area where most of those responsible had the most professional skills and personal expertise.

In many cases, folk high schools are operated by religious, political, ethnic or other popular movements, and from this it follows that many of their workers are somehow ideologically affiliated. This situation, in turn, makes them goal-conscious, as well as conscious of their professional value. In many cases, they simply could not be the kind of technocrats as, to mention another extreme, some teachers in vocational adult education who have no corresponding need for personal and ideological commitment. Professionally and ethically aware, FHS people have always known how to look after their interests. They have known how to assume such positions within organizations to effectively influence their activities. This approach is exactly what happened with the FHS-activists within the EBAE leadership as they shaped the activities of the Bureau to fit their interests.

4. The Hesitancy of Adult Educators to Support the European Unification Process

One statement issued by the second UNESCO World Conference in Montreal (1960) had recommended increasing regional cooperation in order to develop adult education. For this purpose, the EBAE arranged, in December, 1961, a one-week training event in cooperation with the European Economic Community (EEC). The first section of this two-part event was held in Brussels on December 10-11, 1961, hosted by the EEC. In addition to the six EEC countries, 5 participants came from Great Britain, 1 from Austria, and 5 from the Nordic countries.

The overall theme for the event was the training of adult educators, and at least one interesting report about the proceedings remains. From Finland, two people participated: Paavo Kuosmanen, a high-ranking official from the National Board of General Education, who represented the Society of Culture and Education; and Aune Tuomikoski, an English teacher and noted author of textbooks.

The latter wrote a review of the event.²¹ Its testimonial value is increased by the fact that it was written from the standpoint of an "outside" observer, which describes the author. In her own country, she had hardly anything to do with adult education, aside from the fact that her textbooks might have been used by adult educators. From the viewpoint of European unification, on the other hand, any Finn might well have been considered an "outsider" in the early 1960s. At that time, managing foreign relations with the Soviet Union was such a central issue of national survival that, despite centuries of Western European cultural ties, there was little attention left for any orientation towards Western Europe.

The Finnish observer noted that the Brussels discussions revealed that the EEC had maintained contact with the EBAE for some time. The purpose of the event in question was the EEC's wish to inform representatives from adult education circles about its achievements, its present situation, and its future outlook. Special emphasis was placed on charting the potential *adult education had in advancing European integration*. One presentation was precisely about the possible forms of cooperation between the EEC and organizations of liberal adult education. According to the Finnish observer, this "courting" by the EEC contained the following elements:

The EEC wished that adult educators would make it a part of their work to present accurate and up-to-date information about the goals and activities of large international organizations such as the U.N., EEC, and EFTA. For example, the process of adopting common agricultural and labor policies would offer adult educators of the EEC countries important work in spreading information and preparing people for change. Adult educators could engage in important preventive work in combatting the dangers brought about by rapidly emerging nationalist zeal which could be the result of sudden political instability preceding integration.²²

21 Aune Tuomikoski: "The European Bureau of Adult Educationin" neuvottelupäivät Brysselissä ja Bergenissä". Vapaa Kansansivistystyö X: *Vapaan kansansivistystyön vuosikirja 1962* (10th Year Book of Finnish Liberal Adult Education). Kansanvalistusseura ja Kansansivistysopillinen Yhdistys: Helsinki, 1962, p.81.

Adult educators were not asked to become active supporters of integration without a reward, however. According to Aune Tuomikoski, there was a carrot: "The possibility was raised that the European University being planned by the European Atomic Energy Community EURATOM would include adult education in its curriculum." In her summary of the Brussels event, hosted by the EEC, our reporter noted that many of the participants had expressed a wish that "the EEC would continue to address information to adult educators." However, the summary continued: "There were others who felt that the tasks suggested by the EEC were not in concordance with the nature and purpose of adult education (my emphasis)."²³

The EBAE leadership highly appreciated the study visit to the European Communities and the ensuing seminar. It published a detailed 99-page report on the visit and seminar as a special issue of *Notes & Studies*. However, not a word was reported of those opinions that questioned the ethical basis of mixing adult education and politics and the proposals suggesting the use of adult education to promote the unification process of Europe.²⁴ Probably, the desirable end justified the means in the minds of the Bureau's leadership.

Although it would be interesting, it is not possible here to discuss the various traditions of liberal adult education of countries represented in the seminar in Brussels. From the standpoint of liberal adult education traditions in Finland, however, the hesitation felt towards the EEC's "engagement proposal of December, 1961", was understandable. According to those traditions, liberal adult education cannot be used as a vehicle for *spreading* political, religious, or other doctrines. These traditions do not, of course, prevent political, religious, or other organizations from offering education adhering to their values and goals to those who *have already chosen their ideology*, since those people would not

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., pp. 81, 84.

24 *Notes & Studies*, Nos. 21-22 (November, 1962), Special Issue.

be "converted" under the cover of education anymore.²⁵ It is possible that those who felt reluctance about the proposal by the EEC thought likewise.

5. Rendsburg Conference Initiative and Its Elaboration

In late July and early August, 1962, a conference was held at the Rendsburg FHS with participants from 13 European countries, the United States, and Canada. The theme was the problems of residential adult education. The Director of the school, Dr. Kurt Meissner, later President of Deutscher Volkshochschul Verband e. V., included two one-day excursions during the one-week event. One of them was to a German community located close to Rendsburg that was suffering the effects of rapid social change; the other was over the nearby West German-Danish border to a Danish locality with diverse problems. In addition, there were some shorter trips to places close to the Rendsburg FHS. The aim of the excursions was to get in touch with everyday reality outside the classroom and with rapid social change that presented people living in the sites visited with many challenges.²⁶

The many field trips might, in retrospect, suggest that there had been an incoherent conference program. There was an attempt, however, to compile all the rich experiences gathered during the excursions in plenum sessions. Such an educational package must have been rewarding, thought-provoking and even inspiring, since the conference produced one idea that significantly impacted international adult education through the following decades. According to sources: "Some Americans and Canadians asked, if it would not be possible to make the advantages of Residential Adult Education directly subservient to international cooperation."

25 Urpo Harva: *Vapaa Kansansivistystyö*. Yhteiskunnallisen Korkeakoulun Jukaisuja II: Vammala, 1943, pp. 48-62.

26 The program of and general information on the Rendsburg Conference in July 29th - August 4th, 1962, EBAAE.

Those who made the initiative backed it by referring to the fact that every year thousands of Americans and Canadians visited Europe. In an educational sense, their situation was no better than that of a regular tourist; there was no way to get in touch with the Europeans in a genuine and meaningful way. Neither was it possible to get to know European culture and world view from a deeper perspective. The question raised by these American and Canadian participants was whether "Folk High Schools and other educational centres could lend a helping hand to this experiment" of establishing more intense European-American contacts.²⁷

According to available sources, the guests from North America approached their idea pragmatically. They willingly admitted that it would take money to realize it, and promised on their part to explore potential funding sources in their own countries. The Europeans, in turn, noted that they themselves did not have educational institutions of the kind that would facilitate the sort of cultural exchange and educational activity their North American colleagues were proposing. The Europeans also acknowledged that realizing the idea would require some form of financial support. From the beginning, their highest hopes were attached to the European Cultural Foundation.²⁸

In November, 1962, a few months after the Rendsburg Conference, the General Assembly of the EBAE was held in Haus Buchenried, West Germany. The fact that the meeting itself is never the main event of the General Assembly gatherings does not lessen its value and importance. Indeed, compared to the educational event arranged in conjunction with it, the General Assembly has always lasted a relatively short time. In Buchenried as well, it was the accompanying seminar that offered one working group an excellent opportunity to critically review the idea, that with much enthusiasm and perhaps less realism, had been proposed in Rendsburg. In its report, the working group, led by

27 Miscellaneous papers concerning the Rendsburg Conference (29th of July - 4th of August, 1962.), EBAEA.

28 Report on 5 "Meeting Europe" Courses in 1963 (hereafter referred to as "Report 1963"). Bureau Européen de l'Éducation Populaire: Bergen (Holland) p.1, EBAEA.

Harald Engberg Pedersen, Vice President of the EBAE and a Danish FHS professional, announced that the European Cultural Foundation had tentatively agreed to provide financial support to the Meeting Europe venture. The working group gave its unqualified support to the basic idea of arranging a series of courses and suggested that the EBAE's secretariat should, without delay, begin to search for suitable Folk High Schools to arrange the courses and to print brochures about them. The working group also recommended a more conservative start to the project than the 10-12 annual courses originally suggested by the Rendsburg initiative. It was planned that the project should materialize as a pilot program in 1963, and it was deemed more practical to plan a fuller program for the following year (1964).²⁹

After the Rendsburg Conference and the EBAE General Assembly, there were two ideas to be considered. One was the American idea aimed at establishing more intense European-American educational contacts in the residential settings offered by the folk high schools and other equivalent centres. The second idea was still in the planning stages and unclear. Although the EBAE leadership had already decided to launch a pilot program, it was still unable to clarify educational goals for the courses. The first concrete version of the basic course idea appeared in a brochure advertising the 1963 pilot courses.

6. In Search of Educational Goals

In practice, it was only possible to begin preparations for the course series after financing in the form of a grant from the European Cultural Foundation was certain. At that point, only a few months were left before the first courses were to begin, and the Bureau was facing what was for it an international project of unprecedented magnitude. Without additional forces, it would have been impossible to implement the

29 A report of the discussion group on Residential Adult Education chaired by H. Engberg Pedersen is attached as Appendix No. 1 in the 1963 Report of Meeting Europe Courses, EBAEA; see also G.H.L. Schouten's letter to the participants of the Rendsburg Conference, 2nd of October, 1962, EBAEA.

courses, and thus it was necessary to direct part of the ECF grant to the hiring of a new part-time secretary, Ms. M.A. Pijl, whose task it became to carry out the practical arrangements called for by the project.³⁰

Instructional Technology was a trend that gained popularity in the 1960's and 1970's within the pedagogical sciences. It placed a strong emphasis on the need to define instructional objectives precisely. This demand was carried so far that it was required that instructional objectives be expressed as verbs representing the change in behavior resulting from the learning, which would allow the instructional objectives to be operationalized—i.e., to be formulated in such a way that it would be possible to measure whether the set objective had been achieved.³¹ There were many reasons why this approach did not become prominent within Nordic liberal adult education, but its value was not completely denied either. It is possible that future adult educators would be prepared for their tasks by telling them, with tongue-in-cheek, about a journey (the instructional process) that would take them more definitely to their destination (the instructional objective) the better the destination was charted, or "You are more likely to arrive if you know where you are going." Where were the organizers of the Meeting Europe courses heading, and what were their instructional objectives?

Goal Setting. In the brochure selling the course in Western Europe and North America, the goal had been defined as follows: "Meeting Europe is especially designed for those who really want to get to know a European country and who would like to spend a week in the company of young adults coming from several European countries and North America."³²

30 Report 1963, p. 2; Schouten, *op.cit.* pp. 41-42.

31 A picture on setting objectives in the context of instructional technology which corresponds to the original theories is presented in: Robert F. Mager: *Opetustavoitteiden Määrittäminen* (originally: Preparing Instructional Objectives) Keuruu: Otava, 1973. A wider perspective on the same theme was given in: Manu Renko and Teuvo Piippo: *Johdatus Opetusteknologiaan* (An Introduction to Instructional Technology.) Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1974.

32 The Folder of Meeting Europe courses in 1963, EBAAEA.

The reference to young North Americans and Europeans as participants is interesting. Sources consistently tell us that the seminar series was born out of an initiative taken by North Americans in the Rendsburg conference. However, sometime during the fall of 1962 or early 1963, the goal of developing European-North American dialogue was clearly abandoned. The sources do not give any justification or explanation for this action. Instead, after the fact, there is a laconic comment in the 1964 course report about the purpose of the courses:

"And last but not least, the courses should also further international contacts among the participants themselves and facilitate an exchange of ideas between Americans and Europeans *although at that point, concrete ideas were not worked further.*"

Thus, furthering understanding between these two continents was left to chance, as it were, depending only on the self-steering processes within the courses. More than before, it was emphasized in the same context that all Meeting Europe courses should highlight "the European aspects and could serve the purpose [of making] participants aware of Europe."³³ It is useful to note here that two problems remained central to planning and executing Meeting Europe courses: 1) Precisely what kind of international mutual understanding the courses were to further, and 2) Who should the participants be.

Contents and Methods. About the program and methods it was noted that "The programme of each course is meant to give an introduction to the country where the course is held. There will be lectures, discussions, and excursions. But participants will also have various opportunities to meet local people in their daily environment of work and home. One question will have special attention: What place does this country have in the European concert?"

³³ Report on 7 Meeting Europe Courses in 1964 (hereafter referred to as "Report 1964".) Bureau Européen de l'Éducation Populaire: Bergen (Holland) p. 8, EBAEA.

Participation. Participation was open to adults in the age group 20 to 40 from Europe, Canada and the U.S.A.

Two reasons seem to explain the preference given to the group of young adults 20 to 40 years of age. Among other things, the Bureau had had a link to the European Youth Campaign through the latter's representation on the Provisional Executive Committee. As well, the bodies sponsoring the courses regarded young adults as the most relevant target group.

Language skill requirements. For the course arranged in France, one had to be able to speak French. A good knowledge of English was required for the other four courses.

7. Evaluation of 1963 Pilot Courses

In 1963, a series of five pilot courses was held, in France, England, Holland, Denmark and Sweden. The report noted that the term "evaluation" might be too strict to describe the process used to assess the courses. Indeed, there were many methodological arguments to be made against the way in which the evaluations were conducted. A practical approach was seen to be more important than a theoretical one, however, from that viewpoint the evaluations by the five course leaders and 28 participants provided a good platform from which to continue developing the series. The following observations were especially interesting:

Skills in the course language. A lack of adequate skill in the course language by some participants was the most prominent problem during the first year. The Bureau was not to blame, as it had inquired about the language skills of the course applicants in a separate letter if the course application gave reason for doing so. It would often turn out during the course, however, that, despite their prior assurances, some participants had totally inadequate language skills. The cause became clear, many participants had had their applications, and perhaps even their language skill verification forms, written for them by others fluent in French or English. Some even revealed that their reason for participation was to gain a basic knowledge of French. The Bureau's secretaries responded sarcasti-

cally to this situation by commenting that it had been assumed that the applicant already had a basic knowledge of French when they were chosen as participants.

As mentioned above, applicants in the 20 to 40 year age groups were given preference. In addition, they needed adequate skill in the course language. No other criteria for selecting participants can be found in available sources.

The length of a course and the balance of the programme. A seven-day course was too short. Complaints about crammed daily schedules and insufficient free time support the observation that the courses could have been longer. Many found too much emphasis on the host country's political and economic life at the expense of its cultural life. Too many topics in the program were also cited. However, when asked what specifically should have been omitted, very few items were mentioned by respondents.

The Folk High School as a milieu for learning and the methods applied. A folk high school was considered an ideal milieu for learning, offering maximum opportunities and time for getting to know other course participants. This meeting with other people was seen as the real "Meeting Europe." The combined methods of lectures, group discussions and excursions were said to have facilitated in-depth study of phenomena important in the European context. Even though English-speaking participants had a language advantage in four of the courses, other observations indicated that participants had a sufficiently active and varied role in the educational experience.

Inequality in participation. The Dutch formed the largest national contingent with participants in all five courses. A common complaint was the Dutch dominated the courses. On the other hand, the Dutch participants were said to be of high calibre, and their group discussion and group work skills were considered to be superior than those of the course leaders. Participation from the southern European countries was minimal; it was also believed that more Germans could have participated. North American representation was American; there were no Canadian participants.

The evaluation reports reveal that some participants were over 40, which had been the announced upper age limit. The organizers had abandoned enforcing the established age limit. According to the evaluations, having participants over the age of 40 had clearly benefitted the courses, because they brought mature life experiences and values to the groups.³⁴

Promotion of international understanding. Despite criticism and many detailed suggestions for improvements, the evaluations declared the courses an "unqualified success" in promoting international understanding. An exception was only in where the discussion had been on the foreign policy of the United States, about which the Europeans had reservations. The 1963 course report stated: "... It is true (as has been stated by American participants) that there was an anti-American prejudice as soon as the American policy or behavior became the discussion point. The Europeans had—generally speaking—a lack of knowledge of the facts. . ."³⁵ This anti-American prejudice is interesting, given the fact that many of the western European countries had in many ways tied their national security and often their economies to the United States' foreign policy during this time. This anti-American feeling prompted some of the American participants to ask whether there would not be reason to organize "Meeting America for Europeans" courses.³⁶ The EBAE's secretariat ended its report on the 1963 Meeting Europe courses with a section titled "Perspectives", in which, among others, the following points were made:

It has been most encouraging to read in almost all reports, even the most critical: 'We think that these courses have a positive value, this programme should be continued. The 'Meeting Europe' idea has proved its worth.'

34 Report 1963, passim, EBAEA.

35 Ibid., p. 29.

36 Ibid., p. 20.

Continue, expand and deepen in quality—is also our wish for the future. To this end 'Meeting Europe' will find its own place in Residential Adult Education which proves to be such an excellent instrument for this type of course.

They [course directors, participants and all others] have, each in their own way, helped to build a new Europe, the Europe that must come, but that cannot exist without a cultural basis.³⁷

The goals for the "Meeting Europe" project were not set out clearly before it started. The above passage indicates that the creation of a new Europe, with a special emphasis on a solid cultural foundation, was perceived as a noble long-term goal. It is understandable that, after all the suffering and traumatic experiences of World War II, adult educators would also be thinking about a new and different Europe.

37 Ibid., p. 35.

VII. ANALYSIS OF MEETING EUROPE COURSES, 1964-1970

1. Overview

In this chapter, an analysis of Meeting Europe courses will be made. As an introduction to the theme, I will deal with sources used in the analysis. Since this chapter constitutes a major body of my study, I prefer to present my sources in more detail than in Chapter III. The analysis begins with a discussion of the interest groups supporting the organization of the courses. Thereafter, I analyze financing and underlying principles of the courses, and discuss travel grants, information and recruiting. In the next three sub-chapters, the schools that were involved, the themes that were covered, as well as methods used, will be examined. After extensive analysis of participation, I move on to the lingua franca in the courses and course leaders. Finally, I will address an issue of "Meeting America" courses and the demise of Meeting Europe courses.

Three main sources are available as reference materials in studying the series of Meeting Europe courses. In the early stages especially, an effort was made to develop the courses with the help of *questionnaire surveys*. These surveys—some comprehensive, others from a smaller sample group—asked the participants how successful they believed the courses had been. The answer forms for some of the years have been preserved, and they offer a *primary source* of data undiminished in relevance. In some cases this material can even be more rewarding to study in conjunction with additional archival material available to us now, since one can justify conclusions that would have been impossible to reach at the time of the survey's completion. The perspective gained over time can also help one to find new aspects in the questionnaire material.

Only questionnaire information given by the participants themselves can, in principle, be considered as first-hand source material. In practice, the situation is a little more complicated. Not all the questionnaires that were used as sources for reports written at the time can be found. Thus, the *annual reports*, which were based partly on

other information besides the questionnaires, provide an overview, especially of the 1964-1966 courses, which would be impossible to get from primary sources alone. Not all the primary sources have been preserved for 1964 to 1966; perhaps they were not compiled for evaluation by course leaders in the first place.

The value of the annual reports as secondary sources is increased because they were compiled using all the relevant material available. In some cases, this might mean personal memory of, for example, Bob Schouten. This valuable, but undocumented information can now, after the fact, be largely verified with the help of a third group of source material: *course bookkeeping records, information documents, recruiting documents, and other archival material*. Since much of the information contained in these sources was self-evident to the Bureau staff, it is understandable that it was not documented in the annual reports. After the fact, they can explain many connections that could not have been perceived at the time and that, even now, could not be found without a comprehensive study of all the available sources.

From a methodological standpoint it is important to note that the Bureau secretariat does not demand scientific validity from annual reports of the Meeting Europe courses.¹ The reports were compiled to help develop the courses to better serve their goals. Since these goals were not defined clearly in 1963 or even shortly after, the reports were important in serving the continuing development of the courses. What one finds in the reports is primarily a genuine search for a better course format.² Researchers have to keep in mind, however, that their task is different from that of the course organizers. The organizers were trying to establish how things should be done in future. This viewpoint can ensnare researchers if they forget their own task of establishing what the courses were actually like.

1 This is stated in every report. It is emphasized especially in: Report on Seven Meeting Europe Courses in 1966. Bureau Européen de l'Éducation Populaire: Bergen (Holland), p.3, EBAEA.

2 Reports 1963-66, passim, EBAEA.

2. Interest Groups

Meeting Europe courses were intended for a certain type of student; in fact, such students formed the majority of participants in the programme. Participation in the courses and the participants as the main interest group will be considered in more detail later.

- *European Cultural Foundation (ECF)*. Meeting Europe courses, with all their preparation and execution, demanded a considerable amount of annual work from the Bureau, making it necessary to hire a new staff member to organize the courses. This new staff position became possible with seed money given for the initial planning of the course series by the ECF in 1963³, and continued for most years until the final year of the courses in 1970. The ECF's policy was to support the meetings and other types of events that helped the younger generation become more Europe-conscious and active in European development.⁴

Thus, the ECF was interested in the European aspect of the courses and in the younger generation of adults. These priorities of the main funding source were to have a considerable impact on the course series, seen in the Bureau's insistence that participants be limited to 20-40 year old (later, 20-45) participants throughout the course series. However, this limitation was so problematic that it could not be strictly adhered to, even in the pilot year of 1963, let alone in later years. A constant worry of the Bureau with respect to course content was that it did not have a strong enough emphasis on a European viewpoint. I will return to the problem of the age of participants and to this Europe-aspect. However, these corollary conditions set by the main funding source

3 See EBAE bookkeeping for 1963, EBAEA.

4 Annual Report 1964 of the European Cultural Foundation, EBAEA.

serve to remind us of the universal phenomenon, "He who pays the piper, picks the tune," maybe not wholly, but to a large degree.

- *The Prince Bernhard Foundation (PBF)*. This foundation was established in 1940 to gather funds for the governments of Holland and Britain to help their war efforts through weapons and materials acquisitions. Under the leadership of Prince Bernhard, the Dutch had gathered over 21 million Dutch guilders, mainly from the unoccupied Dutch territories, by the end of the war.

After the war, the foundation was given the new task of rebuilding cultural life, and funds continued to be gathered. Prince Bernhard, the patron, kept petitioning the Dutch for donations, especially in speeches on his birthday, broadcast on radio and later on television. Various fields of science and art, mass media, folk and youth culture, continuing education, museums and monument restoration projects became new recipients of funding.

Clearly, supporting the Meeting Europe courses was well in line with the new tasks assumed by the foundation. More essential, however, was that, in the 1960's, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere, the EBAE was largely seen as a Dutch institution, and thus a fitting recipient for PBF support. Since the PBF was not narrow-minded in its support policy, it might also have helped that the EBAE was in fact quite "European." The foundation supported many international causes, especially if they had connections with Holland. Since the EBAE had its headquarters in the Netherlands any formal obstacles were removed.⁵ The sources give no indications that the PBF, as a funder, tried to influence the course programme, recruitment of students, or any other aspects. The foundation would be unlikely to pressure course organizers face-to-face or by telephone. Unlike the

5 *Foundations Profiles*. The Hague Club. A Corporate Body of European Foundation Directors. The Hague: *Stichting The Hague Club*, 1988, pp. 42-43 (Prins Bernard Fonds. Netherlands).

ECF, there are no concerns in the annual reports that the courses would not be in line with the PBF's funding guidelines.

- *European Bureau of Adult Education (EBAE)*. The existence of the EBAE was justified with the following definition: "The Bureau exists to further European collaboration and one of the means of doing so is to organize the meeting of persons by the intermediary of its associates and other agencies."⁶ Thus, the broad goal of the Bureau of developing Europe was practically the same as that of the ECF.

Over time, the EBAE appeared to be the servant of its main funding source, the ECF, letting the latter influence its decisions even against its own principles. However, to conclude that the EBAE made a virtue out of a necessity does not do justice to the facts. All the annual reports and other sources show clearly that there was a genuine consensus about matters concerning European cooperation and unification. These annual reports were probably given their finishing touches by G.H.L. Schouten, especially the concluding chapters with their idealistic and ideological overtones that likely reflect his opinions.⁷ There are no indications, though, that the rest of the Bureau's leadership would not have endorsed Schouten's inspired vision. On the contrary, the language used by the Bureau leadership often resembled the rhetoric of patriotic Christians or ideological labor movements, with the exception that for the Bureau "religion" and the "homeland" were the distant dream of a unified Europe.

- *North American Partners*. The intention of getting participants for the Meeting Europe courses from the U.S.A. and Canada meant that there was a need for cooperation from that continent

6 Report 1965, p. 5, EBAEA.

7 Especially look at Report 1963, p. 35; Report 1964, pp. 37-38; Report 1966, pp. 31-32; Report 1966, p. 1, EBAEA.

also. For some reason, the Adult Education Association of the United States, which had collaborated with the EBAE in late 1950's and in the early years of the 1960's, did not take it upon itself the task of recruiting Americans for the courses. Instead, this task was first conducted by Royce M. Pitkin, the director of Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont, about whom I have written above.⁸ That he continued to play an active role on the stage of European-American cultural exchange is in itself notable. There are no records of his activity as a recruiter, however, but one can draw some conclusions, albeit careful ones, from figures on American participation that will be discussed later.

Apparently the meagre participation of Americans in the Meeting Europe courses led to efforts to improve recruiting. In 1965, it was possible to register for the courses through the Scandinavian Seminar,⁹ which had an office in New York, but this step did not improve attendance, as had been hoped. For some reason, there were no contact persons at all in United States and Canada from 1966 onwards.¹⁰ So those who were interested had to apply directly to the Bureau office in Bergen, Holland. As will be made clear, this lack of a contact person did not influence the already small attendance from across the Atlantic.

In the 1965 courses, 22 of the 24 American participants were recruited through the organization "Experiment in International Living".¹¹ This practice continued at least

8 The folders of 1963 and 1964 courses, EBAEA. See above, pp. 86-87.

9 The folder of 1965 course, EBAEA.

10 See folders of 1966-70 courses, EBAEA.

11 Report 1965, pp. 8, 46, EBAEA.

through the following year,¹² and possibly even afterwards, although it is not mentioned in the sources; course reports were not compiled after the year 1966. There is, in any case, reason to be grateful to this organization for providing almost the entire American contingent for several years of courses. On the other hand, the problems inherent in this rather homogenous "experiment" group of 20-year-olds will be discussed later.

All in all, only a couple of Canadians participated in the Meeting Europe courses despite the recruiting efforts of the National Residential Adult Education office in Toronto, Ontario (1964),¹³ l'Institut Canadien d'Éducation des Adultes, Montreal (1965), and the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Toronto (1965). There are no attempts in the sources to explain the negligible Canadian participation; high travel costs can hardly have been the sole reason.

This information above concerning the EBAE's Canadian collaborators has been drawn from course folders. A closer, and more critical look reveals, however, that the folders include unreliable and misleading information. Professor Alan M. Thomas, Executive Director of the Canadian Association of Adult Education in 1961-69, is unable to recognize the two first organizations mentioned in the folders as Canadian collaborators. In addition, he does not recall that the EBAE had ever asked for assistance in recruiting Canadian participants for Meeting Europe courses.¹⁴ This contradiction between the information printed in course folders and the facts explains, to a large extent, if not totally, the scant Canadian representation in Meeting Europe courses.

- *Folk High Schools and Other Residential Centres/Colleges.* Folk high schools were a central part of the Meeting Europe course

12 Report 1966, p. 10, EBAEA.

13 The folders of 1963 and 1964 courses, EBAEA.

14 Personal communication with Professor Thomas, 2 June 1994.

system in the sense that they provided the courses with a setting, as well as pedagogical expertise, at a very reasonable cost. According to the final report, the folk high schools were often less interested in the European viewpoint of the courses than in the new possibilities of beginning or continuing international activities offered by the EBAE programme.¹⁵ In the case of the Holly Royde College of Manchester, United Kingdom, for example, the EBAE courses fit seamlessly into a previously adopted framework of international orientation.¹⁶ For other folk high schools, the EBAE programme offered a new chance to experiment with applying folk high school pedagogics to the new dimension of international education.

- *Rotary Clubs.* A number of rotary clubs in the province of North Holland and the Dutch District Fund of Rotary significantly supported the Meeting Europe courses in their early stages. This action justifies the assumption that the founding idea of European unification, promoted for the courses by the Bureau leadership, corresponded with the Rotary ideology. A personal connection to the rotary club came through G.H.L. Schouten, who was himself a member. He was so effective in soliciting the support of his fellow club members that, in some cases, the Rotarians

15 Report 1965, p. 5, EBAEA.

16 Already in 1950, in cooperation with the Workers' Educational Association, the Nordic Summer School was started in Holly Royde College. Participants were recruited from the Nordic labor union movements and from within the WEA. The length of the Nordic Summer School was 10-12 weeks and the number of participants between 30-45 annually for a total of about 1,100 participants from 1950-92. The course had to be canceled for 1993, since only Norway and Finland were willing to participate. Norwegian participation has always been paid for by the Labor Union Movement. The Finns have been financed by the Finnish Ministry of Education (in 1994, about 210,000 Fmk [Can\$ 52,500] from the Ministry was used for this purpose).

paid for all the expenses of a Meeting Europe course held in Holland, including rooming and boarding costs.¹⁷ It was, therefore, a considerable privilege to be accepted as a participant in a Meeting Europe course held in Holland.

- *Member Organizations and Other Associates.* Among the individual projects undertaken by the EBAE between 1953 and 1970, the Meeting Europe course series was by far the most extensive. Neither systematically nor by using sampling techniques has it been possible to find out how the project was regarded among the EBAE members or other associates. Those international umbrella organizations and contact people who managed to get some folk high schools interested in hosting a course must have thought it a good idea, otherwise, they hardly would have supported it. We can go further; however, we would be making educated guesses.

Justifying their existence can be difficult for international organizations, especially when their activities take place mainly on an ideological level; it might be hard to offer concrete evidence of successful achievements. The EBAE has this problem even today. In my view, the Meeting Europe courses clearly offered the EBAE members an opportunity to see that, through international cooperation, something could be achieved that would have been impossible with only one country's initiative or resources. For the existence and future of the EBAE, this kind of programme that produced indisputable and measurable results was of the utmost importance.

17 Report 1963, p. 6; Report 1964, p. 1; Report 1965, p. 1, EBAEA.

3. Financing

There were three main sources of funding for the Meeting Europe courses: (1) financial support given to the EBAE, (2) course fees, and (3) financial support and donations given to the course organizers. The most important source for launching, maintaining and continuing the planning of courses was that which went directly to the EBAE. Financial contributions are presented in the following table.¹⁸

Table 2 Financial Contributions Received by the EBAE for Meeting Europe Courses in 1964-70 (Guilders)		
Year	Sponsor/s	Contribution (in Dutch Guilders)
1964	European Cultural Foundation (ECF)	23,000
1965	ECF	24,000
1966	Prince Bernard Foundation (PBF)	29,000
1967	PBF Dutch FHS's League of Dutch People's Universities (LDPU) Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband (DVV)	18,150 450 300 1,237.50
1968	ECF LDPU Center for European Education (Holland) DVV	4,000 250 1,500 198.90
1969	ECF	15,650
1970	ECF	14,500
Total		132,236.40

¹⁸ Meeting Europe courses bookkeeping accounts, 1964-1970.

Exactly how important the role of the two large foundations was in financing the general expenses of the Meeting Europe courses can be seen in the following table.

Table 3 Financial Contributions Received by the EBAE for Meeting Europe Courses in 1964-70 (percentage)

Sponsor	Dutch Guilders	% of total
European Cultural Foundation	81,150	61.9
Prince Bernard Foundation	47,150	35.7
Other Dutch Donators	2,500	1.9
Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband	1,436	1.1
Total	132,236	100.0

Taken out of context, a sum of over 132,000 guilders does not, in itself, tell us how substantial the support was. Compared with the EBAE's annual budgets for the same period, however, it corresponds to the total income of the EBAE for three years. This alone is an indication that it was a large-scale project.

The course fees collected from participants were another substantial source of funding. These remained relatively stable during all seven years at about £10-11 (1964-68) to £13 (1969-70).¹⁹ It is notable that these course fees seem to have been used to cover room and board only, not teaching expenses (according to available sources). Another notable factor was that the *folk high school carrying out the course* or a *national cooperating organization* could act as an organizer for a course and could assume total funding responsibility as well. The organizer could then make all the preparations and purchase the entire course package with room, board and tuition, from a suitable folk high school.

¹⁹ See course folders for respective years.

In this context, it is important to keep in mind the previously mentioned support from the Rotary organization for the Meeting Europe courses held in Holland. Although it was quantitatively in a class of its own as a local or national donation, it did not remain the only one. Visits to private homes close to the course locations were also arranged for participants. Even though the hospitality offered during these visits cannot have been financially substantial, it was all the more important in creating direct contacts with the local population. Many course participants considered these genuine contacts with the people of the host country the most important vehicle to international understanding and an essential experience on the road towards a unified Europe.²⁰

Of more value both financially and in improving the image of the host country was funding, for supporting courses, obtained from local administrators, industrial establishments, museums and other excursion targets, and, at least in the case of Finland, from the Ministry of Education. There, the Finnish Adult Education Committee (from 1969 the Finnish Adult Education Association), which organized the courses, asked the city/county Councils of the capital city and hosts from other excursion targets to show their hospitality and received a very positive response. Support from the Ministry of Education could, in turn, be used to cover teaching expenses and to offer participants summer theater performances and excursions to the surroundings of Oriveden Opisto, where the courses were held free of charge.²¹

Especially in the case of Finland, the independent search for sponsors carried out by the organizer was to be of crucial importance to the courses after the European funders began to cut their funding.

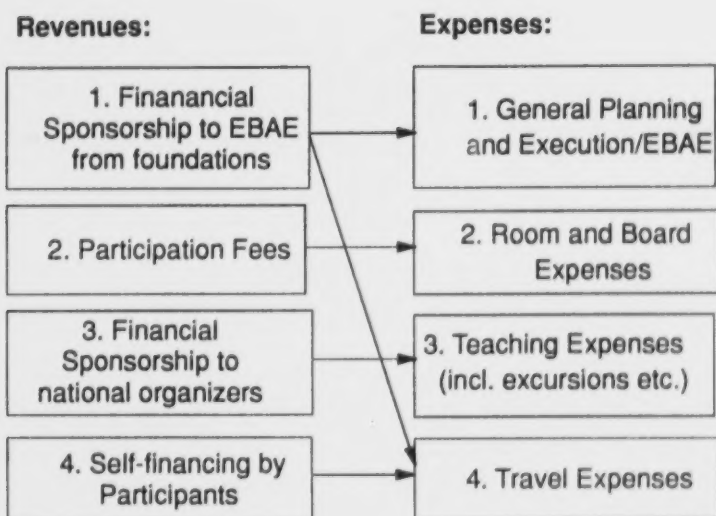
Unless a course participant happened to live right next to the folk high school hosting the course, travel expenses would be the largest expense. Thus, the EBAE spent sig-

20 See Evaluation Sheets.

21 See archives, applications and accounts of Meeting Europe courses, Finnish Adult Education Committee/Finnish Adult Education Association Archives (hereafter referred to as FAEEA).

nificant sums annually to subsidize travel expenses, either wholly or partially. This arrangement, which in some years gave more than half the participants various amounts of travel assistance, will be covered in more detail later in the discussion of participation in general.

The following diagram clarifies revenues and expenses:²²



In some cases the travel expenses and/or room and board of participants were paid for by employers; there is only incidental mention of this method of course funding.

²² This information is primarily based on the accounts of the EBAE's Meeting Europe courses, with complementing information from other sources dealing with the Meeting Europe courses.

4. Scrutiny of Underlying Principles and Aims of Courses

The annual reports repeatedly mention that the underlying principles and aims of the Meeting Europe courses remained unchanged from the start.²³ Three objectives were defined:

- a. 'Meeting Europe' aims to bring together, in a residential setting, young adults from different countries;
- b. It aims to offer young adults an opportunity to become acquainted with a certain country and its inhabitants; and
- c. It seeks to promote an awareness of Europe as a cultural entity.

The course summary of Meeting Europe mentioned that planning the year's courses had made the Bureau "once more realise the difficulties of international work."²⁴ The closing comments of the report reiterated that thought: "...we are aware of the fact that Meeting Europe is a difficult job..." These and many other similar comments prompt us to ask what philosophical, ethical, or practical impetus drove the Bureau to go through all this trouble with relatively few resources. This question is all the more justified as the EBAE also concluded that the achievements of the Meeting Europe courses "...can never be accurately measured."²⁵ What were the values and goals that prompted the EBAE to sow into the wind without hope of ever finding out whether anything would grow out of the seeds?

23 See especially Report 1964, p. 1 and Report 1966, p. 1.

24 Report 1964, p. 2.

25 Report 1965, p. 1.

It is difficult to answer this question, since, at no point, did the Bureau's leadership clearly define the course goals. Year after year, it kept looking for suitable and practical goals and values that would be related to European unification, without ever finding a satisfactory answer. If it was found, the answer was never put on paper. Therefore, the answer to the above question must be sought in different contexts.

The guidelines of the Meeting Europe courses stated that each course would bear the stamp of the host country. How well this aim was achieved in different cases seems not to have concerned the Bureau. Instead, it was continuously emphasized that "there ought to be some unity in this respect, that they [i.e., courses] all would bring forward the European aspects and could serve the purpose 'to make participants aware of Europe'."²⁶ In another context, it was pointed out that Europe-consciousness would not automatically follow from just being in an international group. So in an effort to continue to develop the courses further, it was added that "It is a challenge for the Bureau to try to develop new and more effective means to promote what Mr. Beerli²⁷ has called a 'European conscience.'"²⁸

According to the Bureau's observations, Europe-consciousness was stronger in some countries, weaker in others. In those countries where it was weaker, there was an attempt to coordinate courses by correspondence in order to strengthen their focus on a European point of view. This method had significant limitations, and it was stated, with some resignation, "that the courses had to be led by personalities and that it was not desirable—if at all possible—to impose certain ideas upon them."²⁹ This remark brings up the question of what the Bureau would have wanted to achieve had these course

26 Report 1964, p. 8.

27 C.A. Beerli dealt with problematics of Europe-consciousness in a 1964 report written for the Council of Europe titled "Tourisme Culturel et Conscience de L'Europe". Conseil de L'Europe, EBAEA. See especially p. 8.

28 Report 1965, p. 12.

29 Report 1964, p. 9.

leaders and lecturers based their plans entirely on the expressed wishes of course participants.

In 1963, the European unification process suffered a setback. The French President de Gaulle announced publicly that France would not accept Britain joining the EEC. In the same context, de Gaulle noted that France would not subordinate its nuclear weapons arsenal to NATO command. The meeting of EEC's Foreign Ministers had to halt its already lengthy negotiations about Britain's EEC membership. The British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, said in a televised speech that the breaking of negotiations had been "a blow to us, a blow to Europe, and a blow to the Free World."³⁰

It was apparently from this background that the author(s) of the report concluded by saying "... the situation in Europe is far from being rosy..." Quoting Queen Juliana, they noted that a mistake had been made. Too much haste had been used in rebuilding Europe. Therefore, as the reporters characterized, not even the builders of the New Europe themselves had known what kind of house they were raising. Nevertheless, the reporters themselves seemed to be overtaken by a similarly unfocused and inexplicable haste, and had, as the report said, "to act, to unite, to do something."

In the estimation of the report's author(s), one had to start from the basics, since we Europeans "don't know each other well enough." He believed that one factor explaining the current situation had been the tendency to underestimate problems inherent in the international context. He also saw it as a problem that there had not been enough of an effort to approach the common people to get their authorization for the building of a new Europe. The ideas had been too "highbrow" or overly politicized. All the mistakes that

30 See President de Gaulle's 14 January 1963 statement on British membership in the European Economic Community in *Documents on International Affairs 1962* (p. 487-) and *The World Today 1963* (p. 84-); the reactions caused by de Gaulle's statement in major European capitals are summarized in *The Times* 16 January 1963; see also one of the statements on the European Community by Prime Minister Macmillan to the House of Commons, 11 February 1963, in *Documents on International Affairs 1963* (p. 58-); Dan Gordon - Olavi Laine - Kari Tapiola: *Maailma 1945-71*. Helsinki: Otava, 1972, p. 249.

were made had been well-known in advance to all those involved in international activities and to all adult educators, noted the reporter in conclusion, clearly targeting political decision-makers with his criticism.

This situation did not dishearten the Bureau leadership, however. It noted "that we have to redouble our efforts and to claim more tools to do the job." A goal was set to create a more positive atmosphere "in which the young plant of European understanding will have better chances to grow up." This young plant had a noble and a far-reaching aspiration: "Let it be repeated once more, that European co-operation is only *one* step on the long road that will lead us to One world."³¹

The Europe-guru of the Bureau was Henk Brugmans, Rector of the College of Europe, in Bruges. His words were often sought for strength and wisdom, like those of a prophet:

... A good European is not the man who is firstly a national citizen, nor indeed the man who considers European union solely as an instrument of defence and not also as a renaissance and an expansion. It is the function of a European civic elite to prepare for the future with this in mind. For the conception of Europe, as we see it, is worth such a preparation.³²

Shall we advance to unity by way of uniformity, the easy solution, one sole great empire ... or perhaps by the creation of two or three united world empires, which would fight each other while resembling each other in all essentials, as Orwell predicted in his book '1984'?

Or will the world unite in this very diversity of which our civilization provides the example? Thus, so far as Europe has a mission to fulfil, it must say to mankind; 'Look at me, I am one yet diverse; I am not a model but I am the proof that it is possible'. Switzerland,

31 Report 1964, p. 37.

32 Ibid., p. 38.

for instance, is not a model for us to copy, but all the same a proof that this type of unity can, after all, be attained ..."³³

Professor Brugmans interpreted the basic values of the Meeting Europe courses better than the Bureau leadership could, otherwise he surely would not have been quoted as frequently as he was. Let us, however, give the author(s) of the report a chance to conclude this survey. They declared solidly that "we want the project [Meeting Europe courses] to be a symbol of European unity."³⁴ However, the protagonists of the Bureau's Europe ideology came to notice that it was not that simple to transform their idealistic fervour into reality within the courses. About the folk high schools, which carried out the courses, they had stated with dismay: "They are fully competent for these tasks, but they are somewhat hesitant about the realization of the specifically European content of the course."³⁵

This situation is by no means unusual within liberal adult education. Observed against the backdrop of noble speeches and statements, the grassroots everyday work is not in itself particularly dramatic or attention grabbing. The dogs bark but the caravan keeps going, slowly and surely, but independently, ahead. Professor Kosti Huuhka, in his work on the history of Finnish adult education centres, discussed the very similar question of the relationship between the high-level rhetoric of acceptable but difficult to realize ideals, on the one hand, and practical work, on the other.³⁶

33 Professor H. Brugmans, Closing Remarks on the seminar of the Fondation Européenne de la Culture (1959) as cited in a motto on the cover page of the Report 1966.

34 Report 1965, p. 3.

35 Report 1966, p. 2.

36 Kosti Huuhka, *Kansalais- ja työväenopistotoiminnan historia 1899 -1979*. Jyväskylä: Kansalais- ja työväenopistojen liitto, 1990, especially pp. 216-226, 340-342, 350-356.

Among the most central elements in the Bureau's thinking about Europe was the issue of European borders. This issue was apparently not discussed in principle, or at least there are no notes to that effect. Many documents, however, indirectly indicate the existence of an unofficial eastern border. There are many references to the Iron Curtain, which seems to have been in practice on the eastern border of the Bureau's Europe. On the other side was the Eastern Block. To the EBAE, the world beyond the Iron Curtain seems to have meant very little, and the annals contain only a few incidental remarks about it.³⁷ Eastern Europe existed, but it does not seem to have influenced the Bureau's work.

A change was underway, however. More and more frequently, the participants in the Meeting Europe courses began making the point in their course evaluations that there should be more Eastern Europeans among them.³⁸ Direct reference that these comments had any effect on the Bureau's recruiting policies has not been found. Some changes in this area, however, began to take place, although they did not immediately affect the Meeting Europe courses. Symptoms of change began to be seen in other areas of activities. From time to time, the Bureau would benefit from the German economic miracle created by Chancellors Adenauer and Erhard. For instance, in 1967 the German Adult Education Association (DVV) funded an educational event for 20 editors of adult education periodicals of EBAE member organizations. For this event, participants were also invited from Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, although they were unable to come.³⁹ In this case, the fact that such an invitation was made is more important than that it could not be accepted.

37 These conclusions have been reached after systematically going through all the material in the boxes containing the Bureau's oldest documents, namely boxes no. 42, 48, 53, 64, 76, 82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 98, and 99.

38 See Evaluation Sheets, *passim*.

39 Minutes of the Bi-annual General Assembly of the Bureau, on Friday, October 27th, 1967 in Strasbourg, at the House of Europe, p. 2.

Earlier reference was made to President de Gaulle, the troublemaker, who through his actions had given 'a blow to us, a blow to Europe, and a blow to the Free World.' One aspect of de Gaulle's thinking, or at least his policies, was that for him, the eastern border of Europe was at the Ural mountains, not at the Iron Curtain.⁴⁰ A real change in the history of the Meeting Europe courses resulted from some "holes" in the Iron Curtain that allowed the participation of Eastern Europeans. One contributing factor to this development was a Finnish course organizer's asking the Bureau's director, Schouten, whether it would be possible to invite Soviets to participate in the courses arranged in Finland.⁴¹ The Bureau's firm grip on the course policies is exemplified by the fact that a representative of an organization in Finland, a sovereign nation, had to ask permission from a Western European organization, in spite of the fact that the Finnish Ministry of Education was paying a significant part of the course expenses. The matter of the Soviet participation was seen to be such a significant question of principle that it was taken up at an EBAE Steering Committee meeting, which took the following stand:

... we discussed our relationship with East European countries in general during the last meeting of our Steering Committee. The Bureau is entirely in favour of making relations with all countries concerned, with the exception of East Germany.

With the country mentioned last, relations won't be stimulated from our side in order to avoid difficulties for countries, [sic] linked up with the Bureau and not recognizing the official status of East Germany.

This does not say that participants from that country won't be welcome, but it certainly can't be our initiative. For all the other countries we would be delighted to establish closer contacts and any help you can give in this respect, will be welcome.

40 Antti Kovanen and Juhani Lehtola: *Politiikan Maaailma. kansainvälisen politiikan hakuteos*. Helsinki: Otava, 1970, p.66.

41 Marja Tuohiniemi (later Haapio) to G.H.L. Schouten January 16th, 1967. Meeting Europe Correspondence (hereafter MECorr.), FAEAA.

No doubt you can go ahead with the society you mentioned.⁴²

By "with the society", Schouten meant the Soviet Znanije Society, to which Tuohiniemi, the course organizer, did indeed send an invitation.⁴³ That the letter was sent only a month before the beginning of the course reflects the inexperience even the Finns had in cooperating with the Soviets. Back then, it could not even have been taken for granted that a letter would travel from Helsinki to Moscow in a month. Had that happened, the time re-maining would surely have been far too short for all the practical arrangements needed. Thus, it is perfectly understandable that no Soviet participants came to the course. Something was achieved, though. A university teacher and a high-ranking education official from Czechoslovakia asked to participate in the Orivesi course in Finland and got the Bureau's permission to do so. When the Czechs had difficulties arranging the advance payments required, Schouten displayed much flexibility in making sure this technicality would not become an insurmountable obstacle.⁴⁴ Without a genuine will to improve relations, this would not have happened.

Symptoms of change continued to appear. One Hungarian and one Czech participated in the course in Orivesi, Finland, in 1968. The Bureau was still embedded in its own Europe-ideology. It asked all the course leaders, for instance, whether they saw that their course had managed to give the participants a better understanding of European unity. To this, the Finnish course leaders Marja Haapio and Olavi Alkio replied: "For them the unity of the so-called Western European countries seemed to be already a fact, so they turned most of their attention to East-European and non-European affairs." According to the course leaders, discussions within the courses had sometimes been

42 G.H.L. Schouten to Marja Tuohiniemi, January 30th, 1967. MECorr., FAEEA.

43 Marja Tuohiniemi to Znanije Society, May 12th, 1967. MECorr., FAEEA.

44 G.H.L. Schouten to Marja Tuohiniemi. June 27th, 1967. MECorr., FAEEA.

"hot because of conflicting opinions";⁴⁵ among discussion topics had been the differences in educational and economic systems.

The view that Europe extended further east than the Iron Curtain seems to have first appeared in the Meeting Europe course lectures in the final year of the courses, 1970. In the Orivesi course, one of the lecturers was Ilkka Suominen, a Member of Parliament, who began his presentation by noting that Europe ends at the Ural mountains. The difference between this view and that held by the Bureau is emphasized if one considers that Suominen represented a conservative party in Finland. He later became its chairman, a minister, and then Speaker of Parliament. A couple of decades later, while a minister and chairman of his party, he would be the first prominent Finnish politician to dare say publicly that Finland should apply for EC membership.⁴⁶ During the same course, a TV commentator lecturing on the cultural differences between East and West [Europe] agreed with Suominen's delineation: Europe extends from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains.⁴⁷

5. Travel Grants, Information and Recruitment

The preparation for each year's Meeting Europe course series began toward the end of the previous year. The starting point of preparations was an evaluation meeting attended by the previous year's course leaders and held in late autumn after the course reports for that year had become available. At these meetings, the folk high schools willing to organize a Meeting Europe course for the following year were noted, the main guidelines for course programmes were agreed on, as well as possible adjustments. The information and recruitment efforts were launched in full strength once the funding decisions

45 G.H.L. Schouten to Marja Haapio June 5th and June 26th, 1968; Orivesi Meeting Europe Course: List of Participants 1968; Course Leaders' Report by Marja Haapio and Olavi Alkio, August 27th, 1968, MECorr., FAEAA.

46 Ilkka Suominen, "The impact of Growing Economic Co-operation on European Unity." *A Paper* read at the Meeting Europe Seminar, Orivesi July 20-26, 1970, FAEAA.

47 Kari Tapiola, "Cultural Differences between East and West." *A Paper* read at the Orivesi Meeting Europe Seminar, Orivesi, July 20-26, 1970, FAEAA.

for the upcoming year were obtained from one or the other of the main sponsors. It was, of course, a great help to the organizing efforts that these decisions were usually made at an early stage.

Before the course information could be sent out, decisions had to be made concerning the course locations, the course fees and the available travel grants. The responsibility of awarding the travel grants was given to a network of contact people around Europe. If no contact person existed in an applicant's country, the grant application could be made directly to the Bureau office, which was obligated to use its general funds to evenly distribute the grants awarded by various countries and courses in a desired way.⁴⁸ I have included here as an example the announcement about travel grants available for 1965. It is quite representative of the practice of other years as well. To make the comparison easier I have added to the tables the number of course participants from each country and the amount of travel grants awarded in each country that year.

(See Table Travel Grants for Meeting Europe Courses in 1965⁴⁹ next page.)

Austria, Belgium, Finland, Great Britain, and the Netherlands kept within the limits set for their grants. France, West Germany, Italy, Sweden, and Switzerland gave fewer grants than they were allotted. For other countries, 30 travel grants were reserved, but a lack of applicants meant that only 10 could be given. Even of those 10, 8 went to representatives from 5 countries outside Europe; the remaining 2 went to Norway. Thus, the guideline that travel grants would be given to Europeans only was not strictly adhered to.

To follow the original grant plan would have resulted in about 81% of the 177 participants chosen for the courses getting a travel grant. In fact, only 80 grants were

48 A Course Folder of 1965 (see appendix No. 1 after the text pages); an announcement on Travel grants Meeting Europe 1965.

49 Travel grants Meeting Europe 1965; Report 1965, appendix: List of participants including the national distribution of travel grants.

Table 4 Travel Grants for Meeting Europe Courses in 1965

Country	No. of available grants / £		Contact Person/s	Participants	Grants Awarded
Austria	6 - 8	60	Mr. W. Speiser	11	8
Belgium	6 - 10	80	Mr. P. Kempynck	10	6
Canada	0	0	-	1	1
Ceylon	0	0	-	1	1
Denmark	6 - 8	60	Mr. G. Veit	14	7
Ethiopia	0	0	-	1	0
Finland	5 - 6	60	Mr. R. Rissanen	6	6
France	5 - 6	50	Mr. L. Trichaud	10	4
	5 - 6	50	Mr. J. Laboray		
	5 - 6	50	Mr. P. du Ponta-vice		
W. Germany	7 - 9	70	Mr. H. Dolff	10	4
	7 - 9	70	Mr. A. Miklis		
Gr. Britain	15 - 18	150	Mr. E. Hutchinson	33	18
India	0	0	-	1	1
Italy	6 - 8	70	Mr. B. Brunello	2	2
Netherlands	7 - 10	70	European Bureau	39	10
Norway	0	0	-	2	2
Philippines	0	0	-	2	2
Rhodesia	0	0	-	1	1
Somalia	0	0	-	2	2
Spain	0	0	-	2	2
Sweden	3 - 4	35	Mr. S. Sderquist	5	3
	3 - 4	35	Mr. H. Sderback		
Switzerl.	2 - 3	15	Mr. S. Wieser	0	0
U.S.A.	0	0	-	24	0
Other Countries	20 - 30	210	European Bureau	Incl. Above	Incl. Above
Total	110-140	1135		177	80

given, making a percentage of only 45%. Cutting the number of recipients naturally made it possible to increase the average size of a grant.

The grant application procedure was well explained in the course folders. In the sample year of 1965, a total of 10,000 folders and 750 posters were distributed in Western Europe, U.S.A. and Canada. Since there were only 177 participants, obviously the advertisements were not very effective. Information about the courses was also disseminated through periodicals and newspapers. Paid announcements were not used, but publications of adult educators, teachers' organizations and student organizations offered advertising and course information free of charge.⁵⁰

Only once, in the first year of the Meeting Europe courses, did the final report discuss the course folder's appearance and quality. The abstract cover picture of a group of people led many participants to comment that such modernism was not likely to attract people to the courses since people in their countries were used to seeing "pictures of buildings where the courses were held" in course brochures. One Canadian participant suggested the printed matter be designed in North America even if it was printed in Europe. He cited the lack of "the Madison Avenue touch" in the materials as a deterrent in promotional work.⁵¹

All the matters included in the annual reports were taken up by the course leaders at their annual meetings. Apparently the Europeans thought that the "Madison Avenue touch" was either not worth its price or it would not have helped in recruitment since the same abstract drawing was on the folder covers for many years.⁵² This deci-

50 Course Report of respective years; *The European Teacher* (U.K.), Vol. II, No. V. (January, 1968), p. 9; In Finland, information was sent to the student papers of Helsinki, Turku, Jyväskylä, and Oulu Universities, to student bulletins, and to daily papers. Clippings - and the way Finns sought to attend the courses - show that the information did reach the public and that the Finns showed satisfactory interest in attending.

51 Report 1964, p.2.

52 See Course folders 1964-70.

sion was apparently based on the Bureau's secreteriat's notion that the input of the contact persons (listed for the year 1965 in the previous table) was decisive for succesful recruiting in the various countries, not the folder's appearence. In 1965, these people directly recruited 81 out of the total 177 participants. Although the rest applied for the courses directly through the Bureau, they, too, must have first heard about the courses from information spread by their own country's contact person through various channels.⁵³ The Bureau did acknowledge its dependence on the commitment shown towards the courses in different countries, as is shown in the following quote: "Unfortunately, there are not yet enough central and informed bodies in the different countries able and willing to accept responsibility for the recruitment of participants."⁵⁴ It can be noted after the fact that the number of organizations interested in the courses and the individuals ready to act as contact persons, never increased appreciably after that remark. Interest began to dwindle towards the end of the 1960's. Sources examined for this study do not report any particular measures for recruiting new course organizers.

6. Countries and Schools Involved in Implementing the Courses

The following Table 5 of countries and schools which arranged Meeting Europe courses shows that only the Netherlands and England organized courses during the seven years from 1964 to 1970. A second group is formed by Belgium, Finland and West Germany, which arranged five courses each. France had four courses, Austria, Denmark and Sweden two each. No reason has been found as to why these last three countries withdrew from their organizing tasks after participating in the first years.⁵⁵

53 Ibid., p. 5.

54 Report 1965, p. 28.

55 This data was collected from the course brochures and has been cross-checked with other sources. This was necessary since the course plan did not always get implemented in the advertised form and locations.

Table 5 Residential Adult Education Institutions which organized a Meeting Europe Course in 1964-1970

Country	School holding the course the course	Year a course was held
Austria	House Rief *)	1964 1965
Belgium	De Blankaart	1964 1965 1966 1967 1968
Denmark	Snoghög Folkehøjskole	1964 1965
England	Holly Royde	1964 1965 1966 1967
-	Knuston Hall College	1968 1969 1970
Finland	Oriveden Opisto	1966 1967 1968 1969 1970
France	Chateau de Meridon	1964 1969
-	Rosnay	1965 1966
West Germany	Barendorf	1964 1965 1966 1967
-	Gustav Streisemann Institute -	1969
Netherlands	Volkshogeschool Bergen (N.H.)	1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970
Sweden	Forsa Folkhögskola	1964
-	Tollare Folkhögskola	1965
*) Since the character of the Haus Rief course of 1970 did not correspond with the characteristics of the Meeting Europe courses, it has not been included in this table.		

Which countries undertook to organize the courses was determined by one simple factor: the organizing countries had a folk high school system or comparable residential adult education institutions. A notable exception was Norway, which at the time already had one of the most comprehensive folk high school networks in the world. Nevertheless, Norway did not organize any courses. The Norwegians seemed to be relatively slow to warm up to Western European cooperation in adult education. When

Dagfinn Austadt was asked for a Norwegian opinion on questions concerning the founding of the EBAE, he did not even answer the letter. The Swedes and the Danes at least suggested that the association be made "less central-European."⁵⁶ A similar tendency towards thorough consideration of European affairs has been displayed by the Norwegian people in their foreign and trade policy decisions.

One can see from Table 5 that a school which had once shown its interest in arranging a course was quite likely to remain loyal to doing so. One can also see that in some cases the interest, for whatever reasons, faded. No new residential folk high schools volunteered, with the exception of Oriveden Opisto in Finland, although in Great Britain and West Germany the school organizing the course was changed.

7. Various Themes Covered by Course Programs

An interested reader will find four Meeting Europe course programs in Appendices B-E. In this chapter, the detailed course programs data for 1964-66 have been chosen to give a representative picture of the themes discussed in the courses. During these years a total of 22 courses were arranged and a total of 383 different themes were discussed. A theme is defined as a study topic that can be clearly separated from the rest of the program. Thus, a lecture which clearly forms a separate unit is considered a theme. During an excursion, one or more themes could be present. Since family visits did not have a specific theme, they have their own category in the classification below. The following Table 6 classifies themes into eleven categories:

Category 1: Family visits.

Category 2: Human contacts and excursions excluding family visits. It includes excursions where the exact theme or destination is not clearly stated in the program. Those excursions that can be included in any of the following categories have been included there. Where the same excursion has visited several different points of interest,

56 Schouten, op. cit., p. 25.

each one has been classified separately under the corresponding category.

Category 3: History (including Contemporary History as expressed in a lecture like "Germany after World War II," for example.)

Category 4: Domestic Affairs (Politics).

Category 5: Culture, incl. topics such as Arts, Literature, Music.

Category 6: Education.

Category 7: Religious Life.

Category 8: Economic Life.

Category 9: European Relations.

Category 10: International Relations (other than exclusively Western European ones).

Category 11: Course Evaluation.

When studying the following table, it is important to keep in mind how it was compiled. In most cases, it has not been problematic to place a theme into a certain category. In some cases, I have had to decide between two or more categories. These problematic cases have been very few so that the end result should give a fully representative overview of the themes. The results have been improved because I have consistently applied criteria of my own making to the entire body of material at hand.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ These themes are classified from the course programmes, which are to be found as appendixes to each year's course report.

Table 6 Study Themes in Meeting Europe Courses 1964-66

Category / Country		AUS	BEL	DEN	FIN	FRA	GER	G-B	NET	SWE	Total
		(2)*	(3)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	(2)	(22)
1	Fam.visits	2	4	3	1	4	3	2	1	2	22
2	Other con:s	7	11	4	2	14	7	9	11	2	67
3	History	2	1	-	1	1	3	2	2	1	13
4	Dom.affairs	1	8	1	1	11	7	7	7	5	48
5	Culture	14	11	6	8	5	6	11	17	8	86
6	Education	2	-	2	2	2	12	1	7	3	31
7	Religion	3	-	2	2	-	3	-	-	1	11
8	Economics	2	4	3	1	1	4	3	5	5	28
9	Eur. Rels.	3	4	6	1	6	2	8	4	1	35
10	Oth.For.Rels	1	2	3	2	2	8	8	7	1	34
11	Evaluation	1	1	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	8
Total		38	46	30	21	51	55	51	61	30	383
Themes/course on the average		16	15	15	21	17	18	17	20	15	17

*) The number of courses held in each country during 1964-66.

In the 1963 pilot courses, a common source of complaint was that too little attention was given to the host country's culture, though this complaint seems to have been eliminated effectively. If education and religious life are added to the actual "culture" category, one can see that one lecture out of three dealt with these themes. Another large group is formed by contacts with other course participants, host families, or other repre-

sentatives of the host country. One out of four themes in this classification belongs to this group. As such, these different types of contacts are somewhat problematic in this classification, since there is no information available on what themes were discussed during these contacts. The section on teaching methods does show, however, that no matter what the theme was, these contacts were usually seen as the most rewarding part of the courses. The following Table 7 classifies the themes into seven groups.

Table 7 The Frequency of Theme Groups in Meeting Europe Courses, 1964-70	
Theme Group	how often the theme was present
Culture (incl. education, religion, history)	141
Human contacts and excursions	89
Domestic politics	48
Western European relations	35
International relations (general, or other than only Western European relations)	34
Economic life	28
Course evaluation	8
Total	383

In most cases, each course had six full workdays of effective time in spite of the fact that a better part of eight to ten days was usually spent at the course school. Table 6 shown earlier indicates that during an average day, three themes would be discussed. This might, however, be a case of averages being more misleading than clarifying; sometimes the same theme would take a whole day, even two days, and a half-day excursion could easily have four or five different themes.

Based on the material at hand, it is impossible to try to evaluate whether the total number of themes of 383 was suitable, too small, or too large. From the pedagogical viewpoint, what is important is how the themes were dealt with, and about this we have

no reliable information. An analysis of teaching methods is more useful than a quantitative approach and I will discuss the former approach later.

The course evaluation forms offered participants a good opportunity to criticize or make suggestions about the themes. The success of the chosen themes is apparent in the fact that there were hardly any themes the participants had wanted left out. This case arose even when new themes were suggested by a participant.⁵⁸

As far as the questions concerning the content of the programme, the 1964 evaluation questionnaire with its multiple choice answers was particularly successful. The answers to these questions generally evaluated the classes as "very good," "rich," "first class," "varied," and "satisfactory" even when other aspects of the course were found to deserve criticism.⁵⁹

In those cases where answers contained criticism, the common pattern was one where a part of the group wanted one thing, another part another thing, and the demands made or suggestions given were at odds with one another. For instance, in the course held in France in 1964 about 40% of the participants had wanted to hear more about how the French viewed European integration—France was at the time somewhat opposed to integration—and another 25% wanted more contacts with local people.⁶⁰ These two views were clearly at odds: if more lectures on problems of integration had been arranged, there would have been less time for meeting French people; and increasing human contacts would have further lessened the possibilities of focusing on the integration issue. It is doubtful that during informal visits the hosts or the guests would have been primarily interested in discussing de Gaulle's integration policies.

58 Evaluation Sheets 1964.66, *passim*.

59 Evaluation Sheets 1964; Report 1964, p. 28.

60 Report 1964, p. 16.

The main problem for this particular course in France seems to have been that the course in general was not particularly successful. Therefore, many of the comments on the program content were negative or contained an exceptional number of suggestions for improvements. This conclusion is supported by the negative feedback for pretty much everything in the evaluation sheet.⁶¹

The evaluations received by the various courses show that the evaluation sheets really did allow for critiques and that participants used this opportunity. The course held in Sweden in 1965, for instance, got off to a bad start when the folk high school chosen to organize it could not do it. This event led to preparations for holding the course in another folk high school, which in the end decided it could not carry out the course at the £10 total fee. This cost could have been due to the high standard of living in Sweden that made the country very expensive, particularly for foreigners. The course had to be arranged at the last minute, and it seems to have been unsatisfactory, as indicated in the course report which states: "This may explain why the Swedish course was not quite in line with the rest."⁶²

When evaluating the themes of the 1965 courses, the EBAE secretariat did not offer thanks to the Swedish course; a notable omission, since all the courses held in the other countries were mentioned in a positive tone.⁶³ Instead of offering thanks, the annual report recorded criticism from the participants of the lectures and other program for not having brought up problems in the Swedish society. This attitude even led some

61 Summary table in Report 1964, p. 34.

62 Report 1965, p. 8-9. We shall not attempt to answer the question why, after two years, Sweden stopped arranging the courses. It was a fact, however, that the average daily fees at Swedish folk high schools were considerably higher than those in other Nordic countries. Since uniform pricing was required for the Meeting Europe courses arranged in various countries, it is quite possible that Sweden was quite simply not able to offer the courses because of their domestic price levels. They were also unlikely to want to solve this problem by giving the course to any school willing to accept the price, since in other countries these courses were given to the best of the residential schools.

63 Ibid., p. 11-12.

to think "... that they did not really get to know Sweden, or say that only the good things were told."⁶⁴

8. Educational Methods Used

The course evaluation sheets used by the Bureau during 1964-66 were revised every year. As new viewpoints for developing the courses were sought, the sheets had to be modified to suit the specific types of information asked for that year. This practice had its benefits as well as its drawbacks. An obvious drawback was that changes in a certain aspect of the courses during the three year period in question cannot in all cases be systematically traced because the questions were framed differently every year.

The evaluation sheet used in 1966 offers the best opportunity to evaluate the teaching methods used in the courses. That year, the sheet listed six different teaching methods used in the courses. It asked "What parts of the course are most effective in your opinion (try to rate them, '1' being the highest)." The six methods offered were the following:

- lectures,
- discussion groups,
- excursions,
- contacts with people from the host country,
- contacts with participants, and
- living together in a residential setting.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

⁶⁵ It is difficult to see what the difference between the last two alternatives was, as it is precisely the living in a residential setting (like a folk high school) that creates the opportunities for maximum contact with other participants.

Also offered was an open alternative called "other possibilities (viz.)." The answers to this question are presented in the following Table 8.⁶⁶

Table 8 Assessment of the Three Methods of Teaching in the 1966 Meeting Europe Courses			
Host country	Method ranked most effective	II:nd most effective	III:rd most effective
Course in AUSTRIA	contacts with participants	discussion groups	contacts with host country p.
Course in BELGIUM	lectures	discussion groups	contacts with participants
Course in FINLAND	contacts with participants	excursions	contacts with host country p.
Course in FRANCE	contacts with participants	lectures	discussion groups
Course in W.GERMANY	contacts with participants	excursions	contacts with host country p.
Course in GREAT-BR.	contacts with participants	lectures	excursions
Course in NETHERLANDS	contacts with participants	excursions	contacts with host country p.

This Table needs no comment; it indicates clearly the three teaching methods that participants considered the most effective. However, the following interpretation of the results can be made.

⁶⁶ In 1966, there were 7 courses with a total of 225 participants. 180, or 80%, of them returned their evaluation sheets, and it is on these sheets that this table is based on. It should be kept in mind that each of the courses had its own unique programme and teaching practice. In other words, the participants were evaluating seven different products, in this case teaching methods in seven *different* courses.

The participants' primary interest was to talk to one another because this was their most effective way to attain the course goals. In addition, excursions to different points of interest helped them become acquainted with the host country, in line with the stated purpose of the courses to further European integration through familiarization with different countries. The participants also valued organized group discussions and contacts with local people. Only in one case out of seven were lectures considered more effective in serving the goals of the course, and only in two cases as the second most effective. Next, we shall attempt to see whether this interpretation and the Table that it was based on are substantiated by any other relevant sources.

The evaluation sheets and their compilations for the 1964 and 1965 courses are not as useful in clarifying the question at hand as is the 1966 information. The feedback from years 1964-65, however, was essentially similar to that of 1966 when it comes to the methods of teaching.⁶⁷ Although systematic evaluations were not carried out and added to annual reports after 1966, incidental information from the years 1967-70 support the conclusion that the most prominent pedagogical problem of the course series was a tendency towards excessively loaded programs.⁶⁸ How can this phenomenon be explained?

In nearly all cases, organizing course activities targeted at foreigners was a new experiment in the folk high schools involved in the Meeting Europe courses. In many cases, all the available expertise was harnessed, both at the school and elsewhere. Obviously, the course model had to be borrowed from domestic courses that had been successfully carried out for years. This measure, however, could become a problem. In no country could the same course with a European orientation be given to both foreigners and locals, since these two groups had such widely different backgrounds and levels of knowledge. The

67 See Report 1964, pp. 28, 32; Report 1965, pp. 18-20, EBAEA.

68 See for instance Report 1964, p. 23; Report 1965, pp. 17, 26, 30; Report 1966, p. 23-24, EBAEA.

course organizers were thus forced time and again to acknowledge the lack of background knowledge among the Meeting Europe course participants.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, they attempted to pack a maximum amount of topics and information into the courses in order to give the guests a "complete" picture of the host country.

A better approach would have been to do just the opposite. Only a few themes should have been chosen with an emphasis on the basics. A student always has a limited capacity to learn and absorb new things. More so when the learning environment and topics are unfamiliar. Although this fundamental fact was being acknowledged in the reports,⁷⁰ the courses were discontinued before the problem could be solved. We should not be unduly critical of these pioneers of international adult education; however, international education events continue to suffer from this same problem today despite a wholly different level of internationalization compared to 25 years ago.

Individual course evaluation sheets are filled with information about why participants did not consider lectures to be a particularly effective means of teaching. Lectures were too long. They wore down the listeners so much that even a lecture with admittedly good content left a negative impression. This problem was not one-dimensional; it was caused by both the lecturers and the listeners each in their own way. If lecturers were speaking in a foreign language (as was mostly the case), they had to stick closely to the written text, and could not be as spontaneous as when using their mother tongue. In addition, it can be noted that in a pedagogical sense the lecturers were often unskilled in speaking to foreigners. Their presentations were often too detailed for the occasion. Sometimes complaints were made about the lecturers' poor language skills. On the other hand, the situation was complicated by the fact that participants had to concentrate on listening to a foreign language.⁷¹

69 Report 1965, p. 18; Report 1966, p. 4, EBAEA.

70 Report 1964, p. 23; Report 1965, pp. 24, 30; Report 1966, pp. 4, 18-19, EBAEA.

71 Report 1965, pp. 16-17, 19, 26; Report 1966, p. 7, EBAE.

The 1964 course report expressed concern about the abilities of lecturers to suitably and effectively reflect upon "ethical and idealistic" questions such as European unification. It was noted that "... we have to select our lecturers most carefully."⁷² Based on the unambiguous feedback of the evaluation forms, the primary concern should have been on such basics as the suitable length and other pedagogical aspects of the lectures and the language skills of the lecturers. The participants' critique was so severe that one questions how any teaching or message, no matter how noble, could have been received, given the pedagogical shortcomings inherent in the lectures.

The aforementioned explains why some forms of teaching were evaluated as "ineffective" in realizing the goals of the courses. We should also use these goals as a starting point when evaluating the positive side of the matter. Earlier, when discussing goals, we wrote about goals set by the main organizer of the courses, the EBAE. Not mentioned was that course participants had their own goals, goals that were not necessarily the same as those of the Bureau.

Despite the criticism of the course folder's style by the Canadian participant, it should be noted that the goals set by the Bureau were always well presented in the folders.⁷³ The folders clearly helped guide people's decision to participate. The feedback consistently shows that mainly people who were interested in European unification or other wider international issues chose to attend the courses. This interpretation is supported by the reaction of the participants when they were asked whether the Meeting Europe courses should be continued. A full 167 out of 180 respondents favored continuing the courses.⁷⁴ When the evaluation sheet stated that the courses' "main objective ... is to give participants a better understanding of the unity (in diversity) of Europe" and when the

72 Report 1964, p. 24, EBAEA.

73 See course folders for years 1964-70, EBAEA.

74 Evaluation Sheets of 1966, EBAEA.

question was asked if this objective had been met, about 75% answered in the affirmative, about 20% in the negative, and about 5% "partly/to some extent."

In investigating the results of the aforementioned evaluations, one must ask which of the teaching methods used most effectively promoted international understanding, or—more widely—education in internationalism. Under comparison were the following:

- a lecture on the trade policy in Europe of the host country,
- a visit with a family or another encounter with locals,
- a pedagogically guided group discussion,
- familiarization with agricultural problems by a visit to a local farm or with those of industry by a visit to a factory,
- a concert, or,
- unofficial interaction between course participants outside of or during breaks in the actual course program.

One participant in a 1964 course gave the following account:

I think the only way to develop understanding between different nationalities is the contact between private persons, who only can destroy all sorts of iron curtains. Personally I am very interested in people, foreigners especially . . . I would like to spend to study the problem of culture, not only European but the others, too, and the problem of a human being.⁷⁵

A participant in another course the same year said:

75 Report 1964, p. 16, EBAEA.

I like to meet foreign people, to speak their language, to learn their ideas and opinions, that sometimes differ from ours, and to learn what's the course [cause] of differences. It's nice to see, how much you have in common as people. I expect that it will bring better understanding and respecting of each others.⁷⁶

These examples are representative of how a large majority of the participants felt about these matters. It is thus easy to see that participant-oriented methods and activities offering face-to-face contacts were most in accord with expectations and needs. It is hardly surprising, then, that the program, which was seen as overloaded year after year, elicited comments such as "In particular the time has lacked for discussion," since among working methods "most important are felt to be in the first place the contacts between participants ..."⁷⁷

Meeting other people was such an essential element of the Meeting Europe courses that no matter how it was achieved, it could have salvaged a course that had otherwise been deemed a failure. The 1965 course in Denmark was less than successful. The compiler of the course report correctly interpreted the feedback when stating: "The success of the course can mostly be explained through the leisure time activities, set up by participants themselves, who turned out to form an excellent group and who have enormously enjoyed knowing each other."⁷⁸ The adult educator who had neglected his duties — the course leader in this case — did not manage to completely spoil the course.

Spending time together and having discussions also have their limitations as learning methods. They might have a place in courses like the Meeting Europe series, but even there the end result is ultimately dependent on how well the course had been conceived and carried out. Success did not always follow even when the concept was fundamen-

76 Ibid., p. 19, EBAAEA.

77 Ibid., p. 16, EBAAEA.

78 Report 1965, p. 20, EBAAEA. The reasons behind the failure of this course will be discussed at a later point.

tally a sound one. Thus, "American observers in the Finnish course" gave the following feedback:

Time was wasted in the small discussion groups: the chairman, chosen out of the participants, had not been instructed what to do and it even was not clear, what the function of the discussion groups was. This is a pity; in the same course there were quite valuable (plenary) sessions with a good discussion afterwards: e.g. the session on 'Finland between East and West'.⁷⁹

This comment is interesting not only because it sheds light on the problems inherent in arranging a course. The course in question—at Orivesi, Finland—had seven participants from the United States, and all of their course evaluation sheets have survived.⁸⁰ None of those include the above quote, however. Who, then, could these "American observers" have been? One possibility is that the entire group had wanted to inform Bob Schouten how it felt about the course and had done so informally. However, this explanation is not the most likely one. It is more likely that Royce S. Pitkin, one of the American founders of Meeting Europe courses and President of Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont, and Evelyn Bates, his teaching colleague, had written to Schouten. Pitkin's evaluation sheet contains essentially the same criticism as that attributed to American observers in the report.⁸¹ Also, since this critique shows a high level of expertise in adult education, it could well have been written by professionals such as Bates and Pitkin. To the credit of the course leaders, the overall course evaluation by both Bates and Pitkin was favourable.

79 Report 1966, p. 7-8, EBAAE.

80 See evaluation sheets by Evelyn Bates, J.R. Bovers, Robert Ch. Mayer, Franklin Parker, J.B. Parker, Helen Pitkin and Royce S. Pitkin, AFAEOA.

81 Report 1966, pp. 7-8; Evaluation Sheets by Royce S. Pitkin, EBAAE ; On the long acquaintance between Evelyn Bates and Schouten see Evelyn Bates to Bob Schouten Dec. 3rd, 1965, EBAAE

9. Participation

Part Two of this chapter, on financing of the courses, and Part Four, on information and recruiting, noted that some participants found their way to the courses through contact persons in their own countries and some directly through the Bureau office. In both cases, the organization of the courses was hampered by numerous dropouts between the time the applications were accepted and the courses were to begin, which could even happen in the form of a large group canceling all at once, as happened in 1964. That year, an American organization had reserved 15 places on four different courses, a total of 60 places, but due to scant interest they had to cancel them all at the last minute.⁸² This cancellation had a clear effect on the total participation figures for that year as it reduced the number of participants from 256 to 196, or by 23.5%.

Other group cancellations of this magnitude did not take place, but individual cancellations were a continuing problem. The worst year was in 1965, when as many as 75 of the 252 enrolled did not show up, that is nearly 30%. Of these 75, 26 announced their cancellation at least a month in advance, another 29 less than a month in advance, and a full 20 simply did not show up.⁸³ Apparently, the number of dropouts decreased significantly afterwards because the phenomenon is not mentioned in the 1966 report or later reports. Incidental observations indicate that every year some participants would, for one reason or another, find themselves unable to attend. This situation is understandable because applications were filed as long as six months in advance.

See Table 9. Footnote 84 explains the criteria used in creating this table.⁸⁴

Table 9 table shows the drastic reduction in the number of participants from 1967 to 1968. This fact is explained by the figures in Table 2 on course funding. In 1967, the Bureau had over 20,000 guilders for the courses; in the following year less than 6,000

⁸² Report 1964, p. 4, EBAEA.

Table 9 Number of Courses, Participants, and Countries Represented in 1963-1970 [Footnote 84 explains the criteria used in creating this table.]

Year/report	Courses	Participants	Countries
1963	5	130	11
1964	7	196	23
1965	8	177	20
1966	7	225	31
1967	5	150	21
1968	3	70	9
1969	6	181	22
1970	3	70	13
total	44	1,199	*)

*) The total number of countries when overlap between different years has been eliminated comes to 49 (see Table 10).

83 Report 1965, p. 8, EBAAE.

84 This table includes information for the pilot year, 1963, in order to give a more complete picture of participation.

1963: The figure of 130 is not directly given anywhere in the material; the report for 1963 does not say a word about the number of participants. The figure was arrived at from the 1966 course folder which states that in the three previous years, the participation was "more than 500 persons." Since we know that in 1964-65 there were a total of 373 participants, "over 500" for three years would mean a minimum of 128 participants in 1963. The estimated figure of 130 accords well with information from later years.

1964: report for the year 1964

1965: report for the year 1965

1966: report for the year 1966

1967: activity report, Fall of 1967

1968: There were only three courses, and even they were rather small. The figure of 70 is a conservative estimate.

1969: The summary report contains two different figures, 181 and 175. 181 has been chosen because it matches other information; the figure 175 seems to be a result of a miscalculation. 1970: Only three courses were held. The figure 70 is a conservative estimate.

guilders. This drop did not only result in fewer courses; uncertainties in funding postponed the organizing efforts to the extent that it had a detrimental effect on recruiting and applications. What was happening in the background was that funding from the European Cultural Foundation was beginning to run out. I shall return to this issue later.

Table 10 on participation has been charted by the participant's home country. Only information considered reliable has been used as a source. It is possible that participation from a country or countries on a course during a particular year is missing from the Table because the information could not be verified with a high enough certainty. In this respect, the year 1968 was especially problematic because very few records from that year are available. Quite likely, participation from several countries for that year is missing. It is also possible that a country participated in only one year and is thus not represented at all in the Table. See the next page Table 10.

Two-thirds of the countries represented in the courses sent participants to 1-3 courses, and one-third of the countries, or 16 in all, were represented on at least four out of the seven years of courses. These 16 "active" countries includes one socialist country (Czechoslovakia) plus Canada, the United States, and 13 Western European countries. Representatives from Finland, the Netherlands, Great Britain and the United States participated during each of the seven years.

Except for the United States and Canada, representatives from non-European countries were predominantly students on scholarships in England, France or the Netherlands, and often from former colonies. This evidence can be seen most clearly from the participation lists of the courses held in Finland that give the residence of such students as "living temporarily" in such-and-such a country. With respect to other courses, marginal comments on various documents as well as the addresses (which invariably were European) of people in question show that, despite their nationality, they resided in a European country. No instances have been found where a non-European other than Canadians and Americans would have come to Europe from their home country just for the course.

Table 10 Countries with Participants on Meeting Europe Courses During 1964-1970

	(23)	(20)	(31)	(21)	(9)	(22)	(13)
Asia (9) countries:							
1) Aden	64						
2) Ceylon		65				69	
3) India		65	66			69	
4) Iraq				67			
5) Japan	64						
6) Malaysia			66			69	
7) Pakistan			66				70
8) Philippines		65					
10) Turkey					68		
Africa (8):							
11) Ghana			66	67		69	
12) Ethiopia		65					
13) Kenya			66				
14) Liberia	64						
15) Nigeria	64						
16) Rhodesia		65					
17) Somalia		65					
18) South Africa			66				
Australia & New Zealand (2):							
19) Australia			66	67			
20) New Zealand			66				
Eastern Europe (3)							
21) Czechoslovakia				67	68	69	70
22) Hungary				67		69	70
23) Poland				67		69	70
Latin America (8)							
24) Bolivia			66				
25) Chile			66				
26) Dutch Guyana	64		66				
27) Haiti			66				
28) Jamaica			66				
29) Peru	64						
30) Trinidad			66				
31) West Indies	64						
Northern America (2)							
32) Canada	64	65	66		68	69	
33) USA	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
Western Europe (16)							
34) Austria	64	65	66	67		69	70
35) Belgium	64	65	66	67		69	70
36) Denmark	64	65	66	67		69	70
37) Finland	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
38) France	64	65	66	67		69	70
39) West Germany	64	65	66	67		69	70
40) Great Britain	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
41) Greece	64		66				
42) Ireland			66	67		69	70
43) Italy	64	65	66	67	68	69	
44) Malta			66				
45) Netherlands	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
46) Norway	64	65	66	67		69	
47) Spain	64	65	66			69	
48) Sweden	64	65	66	67		69	
49) Switzerland	64			67	68		

Even though the number of these non-Europeans was not great, two things should be noted: 1) the recruiting policy allowed them to participate; 2) this policy was in turn probably shaped by the prevailing opinion among the participants, often stated in course feedback, that it would be good to widen participation to non-European and socialist European countries.⁸⁵

Formally, the age limit of 20-40 years set for participants was adhered to until the final year of 1970. In that year, the age limit given in the course folder was raised to 45, and it announced that "applications from older persons will be considered sympathetically, as far as places are available."⁸⁶ This nominal higher age limit was probably to satisfy the chief sponsor, the European Cultural Foundation, which used its youth activities allocations to sponsor the courses. More contacts with Eastern Europe would have more or less solved this particular problem because youth organization leaders there tended to be about 50-60 years of age. Compared with Eastern practice an age limit of 45 years was quite artificial. Such an age limit was also clearly at odds with the principle of continuing education that was rapidly gaining ground worldwide.

The Bureau did show flexibility on the age question, however. After the age policy had been taken care of in the course folder that was included among the bookkeeping documents, exceptions to it were made in practice whenever necessary, as in the pilot year of 1963. Initially, there did not seem to be much need to make exceptions, since the information on the 40 (45) years age limit apparently led a few older people to apply. There were 11 participants over 40 years of age in 1964, and nearly double that number in the following year, but even then they only amounted to about 11% of all participants.⁸⁷

85 See evaluation sheets and evaluation reports by course leaders, EBAEA or AFAEOA.

86 See information folder for 1970 courses, EBAEA/AFAEOA.

87 Report 1964, p. 5; Report 1965, p. 10, EBAEA.

The 1964 report expresses concern that despite efforts to recruit older participants, not as many as had been hoped for had responded.⁸⁸ It seems that no real obstacles were placed against older people when participants were chosen. The courses in Orivesi, Finland, look as though age played no part in determining who was accepted; in 1966, eight participants were over 40 in Orivesi, and a year later 11, making more than a third of all participants for these years.⁸⁹ Even though the situation changed somewhat in later years from what it had been in 1964, the basic trend remained the same. There were twice as many age group 20 to 25 years as in any other age group.⁹⁰

The course leaders did not see the age distribution of the participants as a major problem. They often had conflicting opinions in their reports and evaluations. Some wished for a homogenous group of young adults because they were seen as allowing more flexibility for the organizers than groups of older people. On the other hand, some saw it desirable to facilitate interaction between different generations within the courses.⁹¹

A more serious issue than the age distribution was the occasional perception that too many participants came from certain countries. Every year, dozens of evaluation sheets mentioned too many Dutch on the courses. They were, in fact, numerous, as Table 11 shows⁹².

88 Report 1965, p. 29, EBAEA.

89 See lists of participants for courses at Orivesi in 1966 and 1967, AFAEOA.

90 Report 1964, p. 6, EBAEA. Whether a 25-, 30-, or 35-year old person was placed in the older or the younger group is impossible to say since few of the answer sheets have survived. The sheets that have survived indicate that the conclusion of the 1964 report in this matter is correct.

91 A course leader's report by Marja Haapio (former Tuohiniemi) to Bob Schouten, Sept. 3rd, 1969, MECorr., FAEEA; Evaluation Sheets, *passim*; Report 1965, pp. 16, 29.

92 This information is based on statistics on participation which were appended to the course reports for these years. These three years have been selected because they offer the most reliable data, but Dutch participation was equally prominent in the other years as well.

The number and percentage of the Dutch varied from course to course so that on about half of the courses more than a quarter of the participants were Dutch. It is clear then, that in such cases the impact of the Dutch, both positive as well as negative, was significant.

Before examining how the large number of Dutch participants influenced the courses, one must ask why the courses attracted so many Dutch. This question troubled the staff of the Bureau. It offered the explanation that the Dutch had the best possible ac-

Table 11 Dutch Participation in Meeting Europe Courses 1964-1966

Year	Total number of participants	Dutch participants	Percentage of Dutch participants
1964	196	47	23.9
1965	177	39	23.4
1966	225	52	23.1

cess to course information.⁹³ Although true, it did not alone explain the whole phenomenon.

The geography of the courses was advantageous to Dutch participation whose country is situated very close to most of the Meeting Europe course locations. Another important prerequisite was language skills. There might not be a scientific study that would show the Dutch to be the most adept at foreign languages among the European peoples, but personal observations have their value as well (and can sometimes serve to launch an important scientific process). It is noticeable within the international cooperation of European adult educators that the Dutch, because of their history, multiple ethnic groups, and geographic location, have admirably wide-ranging and advanced language skills. This observation could have been made by the leaders of the Meeting Europe

93 Report 1964, p. 6, EBAAE.

courses as well. Only once did it happen, however, that a report by a course leader mentioned that, because of a large number of Dutch participants, the Dutch language had to become the second course language or that the Dutch had formed their own "course within a course" to the detriment of the actual course.⁹⁴

Instead, there were numerous comments on the Dutch being "good course participants." Course leaders and other evaluators thanked the Dutch for their adaptability and their pedagogical readiness to work within the course. These views were so pronounced in the evaluations that it seems justified to ask whether credit for the andragogic maturity of the Dutch should go to their school system or to their adult education institutions or to both. The situation could hardly have been so ideal as not to allow the high numbers of Dutch to cause any problems at all. One nevertheless gets the impression that these problems were exaggerated in the reports. This conclusion is convincingly supported by the following comment by the leader of the course held in Knuston Hall, England, in 1969: "On paper, there were too many Dutch; in practice this was not apparent (except perhaps to other Dutch!) because they mixed themselves up with everyone very well, and their good English was a help."⁹⁵

That a large national contingent participating in a course was not necessarily harmful to the course's success is supported by reports from other courses as well. Many Finns were on the course in Austria in 1966, and the course report noted the following: "... a large number of Finnish people participated. They adapted themselves very easily."⁹⁶ As was mentioned before, however, the participation of large groups from one country was not without its problems. In 1966, many Finns happened to be on the course in England, as well as many Dutch. In this situation, the following comment

94 See quotation before footnote no.65.

95 A report by the course leader of the Knuston Hall (Irchester, Northamptonshire, U.K.) course, July 12th - 19th, 1969. Report dated July 19th, 1969, EBAAE.

96 Report 1966, p. 9, EBAAE.

by the course leader becomes understandable: "Rather peculiar composition with group[s] from the Netherlands and Finland greatly outnumbering all other nations. This situation increases the temptation to speak in one's own language rather than in English; and it also reduces the international value of the course; but there were no serious difficulties arising from it."⁹⁷

A worldwide problem of adult education courses is that not as many people participate as was planned by the organizers. Against this background, it is rather difficult to understand the continuing complaints about the large Dutch participation. Instead of complaining, there are reasons to thank them, as some in fact did.

The American "Experiment in International Living" group mentioned before was divided between courses in Holland and Belgium in 1965, and no difficulties arose in the way the group adapted. In 1966, however, only about half of the "Experiment" group was interested in the course programme in spite of the effort of their own group leader. Such large-scale passivity and truancy could not fail to negatively influence other course members. Sometimes, a problem could also rise from a group that was too heterogenous. The 1966 course in Belgium had, among others, seven participants from non-European countries. When two of the participants, in the opinion of the course leader, had difficulties adapting to the group because of their character, the result was a rather disappointed comment in the final report: "The group disintegrated, however, entirely, one day before the end of the course!"⁹⁸

The problem common in adult education of having too many or too few participants was also encountered in a somewhat different sense than that described above. The main purpose of the Meeting Europe courses was to help the participants become familiar with Europe *through one country*. As has been discussed, they in turn believed that this

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 11, EBAEA.

⁹⁸ Report 1965, pp. 20-23; Report 1966, pp. 9-10, EBAEA.

was best achieved through contacts between the participants and with people in the host country. This kind of learning situation would collapse if there were only a few participants from the host country, which is understandable, given that, where finances permit, it is generally more interesting to participate in a course held in a foreign country than one held in one's own. This problem became a constant headache for the Bureau as well as for the course organizers in the various countries.

What followed from this problem is nicely summarized in the following:

It is quite clear that we have to strive for a greater participation in the courses of people from the host country. If this could be realized, it would satisfy other wishes too, such as: better contact with the host country, more information regarding the country itself. It will be difficult to reach this as everybody likes more to go abroad than to stay in his own country, but we have to make an effort.

When the proportion in the 1965 course in Austria was one Austrian for every four foreigners, this was mentioned as a favourable example in the annual report. Even the foreign participants valued the good representation of Austrian participants in their evaluation sheets, calling the Austrians "good ambassadors of their country."⁹⁹ Generally, there were too few such ambassadors on all the courses. Courses in England and in France suffered from a special problem: what would entice people from the host country to attend lectures on domestic issues they hear about daily, and to listen to their mother tongue spoken poorly by foreigners—and to have to pay for all this?

There is one more aspect about recruiting students for the courses and about successful recruiting that is worth a closer look. None of the course folders for the various years mentioned that priority would be given to teachers and students when selecting participants. Other information about the courses, however, revealed that this was in fact a priority, which must reflect the Bureau's belief that a better Europe and a better world could be achieved most effectively by investing in these two groups of people. Since a major portion of the information about the courses was distributed through publications of teachers' and students' organizations, it is only natural that these two

groups were also quite prominently represented on the courses. This policy belonged among those rather numerous axioms of the Bureau about which the participants, yet again, begged to differ with the organizers. Their evaluation feedback kept pointing out the large representation of teachers year after year, and kept asking for a more representative distribution of different professions among the participants. On the other hand, there were no complaints about those participants who were full-time students in various fields. Surrendering to the results of the Bureau's own policy, the compiler of the 1965 annual report had to admit that the effort to get individuals other than teachers and students to participate on the courses "was not so successful. The portions remained about the same as last year. Students and teachers taken together outnumbered the other professional categories almost by 3 to 1."¹⁰⁰

99 Report 1964, p. 15; Evaluation sheets for the course held in Haus Rief, Austria, July 10-17, 1965; Report 1965, p. 15; Report 1966, p. 9, EBAEA.

100 Report 1965, pp. 10-11, EBAEA.

10. Lingua Franca in the Courses

The issue of language skills was never satisfactorily solved, and the Bureau's actions in dealing with it were marked by helplessness. The result was inconsistencies in many of the statements made about the matter. About recruiting, it was said, for instance, that there were no "... other limitations ... except that the participants must be able to speak the working language of the course." Language skill was tested by requiring the applicant to write a 15-line explanation of why s/he wanted to participate on the course. Even during the pilot course year of 1963, it was found that in many cases these required explanations had been written by someone other than the applicant. It is thus not surprising that of all the applicants, only "a few [were] refused" due to insufficient language skills. Already in the following year language skills among the participants had improved to the extent that interpretation from the course language into other languages had not been needed on any of the courses.¹⁰¹

On the other hand, this same report in several places mentions that participants had in many cases justified their participation by a desire to improve their language skills. During the pilot year, this justification had been viewed unfavourably, but now it was found more acceptable. A couple of years later, this motive of improving one's language skills was viewed even more favourably: "Often a participant is delighted when he or she succeeds to make him or herself understood by the rest of the group. Some reports state that participants decided to undertake more serious language studies, having got a better insight into their capacity to use their language skills in a practical way."¹⁰²

101 Report 1964, pp. 6-7, 10, EBAEA.

102 Report 1964, pp. 12, 15-16; Report 1966, p. 4, EBAEA.

Although the 1964 report noted the language situation had improved considerably, the more general conclusion of the same document also mentioned that language problems still existed. This is also seen in the fact that in the following year a so-called "language host" system was adopted for the courses in France and West Germany. This system worked so that these courses had two official languages, German and English or French and English.

The intention was that language hosts would interpret by whispering to those who could not understand the language being spoken. In this form, the system hardly worked at all. It degenerated to all the lectures being given in French or English and then interpreted consecutively into English for those who could not understand the original language. This method naturally took at least twice as much lecture time, and led to the criticism that no time was left for group discussions afterward. Thus, the organizers were forced to conclude that the experiment had not been "a success." The original idea had been "that a whispering translation by 'language hosts' might be of use to very small groups of two to three participants who need a measure of support if they are to get full value from lecture."¹⁰³

Evaluation feedback showed that language problems varied greatly from course to course. Course leaders of the Holy Royde and Knuston Hall courses had no complaints about language problems, nor did participants. An extreme was the courses in France where one in four participants mentioned language problems in their feedback.¹⁰⁴ The other courses fall somewhere between these two extremes; it would not be practical or even possible to discuss them in more detail.

103 Report 1964, pp. 23-24; Report 1965, pp. 9, 24, 26, 29, EBAEA. In addition to lowering the language barrier, the language host system was intended to attract full-time participants from the host country, which had also been a continuing problem for the organizers.

104 See course reports by course leaders of Holly Royde and Knuston Hall courses as well as evaluation sheets for those courses, and corresponding documents for the courses in France. The "one in four.." mentioned in the text applies to 1966, EBAEA.

11. Course Leaders

Although the course leaders often remain anonymous "primes motors," their role and tasks were absolutely central to the success of the whole course series. This study has made evident the general phenomenon that "good news gets buried, while bad news travels far." In other words, despite their importance, the course leaders remained in the background and received little attention if and when they carried out their tasks well. There are very few comments on course leaders having worked impeccably in the evaluation sheets and other source material, whereas when a course leader failed in some way or another, it was usually mentioned in the annals.

Such negative feedback usually occurred only when a course leader had failed rather miserably. This was partly because the evaluation sheet for all course years did not include space for a direct assessment of the course leaders. One could only give an opinion indirectly. For instance, a reply to a question on the course programme could say that the course leader/s should have acted differently. There is no clear picture of the kind of unofficial "quality control" or the supervision of the course leaders that Bob Schouten used to practice, but we do know it took place. Each year, dozens of Dutch participated in the courses, and among them there were professionals in adult education who were his acquaintances. When the course leader for the 1965 course in Denmark never sent in the final course report, Schouten asked a Dutch FHS director who had participated in the course to write a report on it.¹⁰⁵

A general conclusion is that course leaders were skilled, committed and acted with a high level of professional morals. The worst exception to this general trend was

¹⁰⁵ Report 1965, p. 20, EBAAE. There seems to have been—unfortunately—a direct correlation between the general success of a course and the performance of the course leader. This is made evident by the few courses which can be considered somewhat unsuccessful (courses in France, 1964, Sweden, 1965, and Denmark, 1965.) For the last two of these, a report by the course leader was never sent to the EBAAE. Apparently, there was an unwillingness to record the failure even though others could have learnt from that failure over the following years.

the frequently mentioned 1965 course in Denmark. From the polite and veiled criticism typical of Schouten, one can infer that the course leader had left the participants on their own several times during the course in order to take care of other matters unrelated to the course. One can fairly ask whether the course report was never done because of these frequent absences. Another possible explanation is that the course leader in question simply did not carry out any of his responsibilities appropriately.

12. Why not a Meeting America Course for Europeans?

At its highest, in 1965, the number of Americans on the courses amounted to less than 14% of the participants; typically, it was under 10%. Not even relatively high participation by Americans could bring about the European-American dialogue that had been one of the original intentions behind the courses, but which the Europeans quietly pushed aside to prevent interference with their own integration tendencies.

American participation regularly tended to be concentrated in a couple of courses each year. The predominantly European participants apparently did not miss their participation. On those courses where Americans did not participate, no requests were expressed to bring in European-American dialogue. Instead, such dialogue was seen as good and necessary on courses where American participation made it possible.¹⁰⁶ Even the pilot course in 1963 showed that sweeping the dust under the carpet does not help for long. That year, the inadequacies in the knowledge the Europeans had about America had become apparent; a mention of the lack of American participants was made in the annual report only a year later when the same problem was encountered.¹⁰⁷

The only course where the European-American dialogue was incorporated into the programme was arranged in Holland in 1964. Here, two full days were set aside for the

106 See programme and evaluation sheets for the courses in Holland, 1964, Belgium, 1965, and both Holland and Finland, 1966, EBAEA.

107 Report 1964, p. 9, EBAEA.

Americans to present their views, mainly through several lectures by Professor C.L. Jordan. The participants found this information on America useful, and would have liked to have more of it.¹⁰⁸

Generally, the Americans fitted in very well with the rest of the group. In the 1965 course in Belgium, they displayed better course etiquette than the Europeans by always being on time, whereas the Europeans often would let others wait for them. A group of 11 young Americans were seen as intelligent and critical; it was said that their presence "stimulated many a discussion about current affairs."¹⁰⁹

Many factors point to the need for more widening of European-American understanding than that offered by the courses. In the 1966 course in Holland, there were other non-Europeans as well as the group of Americans, and the discussions were carried out within this framework. Sympathy and understanding were displayed towards the problems of Africa and South America, but an anti-American feeling was common.¹¹⁰ It is not clear, however, whether more information could have helped the Europeans to fully understand American society. The problem seems to have arisen from differences in basic values that could not necessarily have been bridged merely by more knowledge.

Despite differing stands on the issue of basic values, there remained plenty of room to increase the knowledge Europeans had about Americans. This observation was by no means first made on the Meeting Europe courses. It was also realized following the Second World War by American descendants of Scandinavians who noticed that there were wrong impressions about the United States in Scandinavia. In 1963, Luther College, which was founded in 1859 and three years later established in Decorah, Iowa, decided to do what it could to remove this 'Scandinavian ignorance and heresy.' Finan-

108 Evaluation Sheets 1964, *passim*.; Report 1964, p. 45, EBAAE.

109 Report 1965, p. 23, EBAAE.

cial support for this effort was given by, among others, a wealthy American Jewish family to show gratitude to the Nordic countries for their policies concerning the Jews during the Second World War.

In practice, Luther College's program is carried out as an annual *very high level* four week course each July. The course is called the "Institute in American Studies for Scandinavian Educators" (IASSE), and has about 80 participants each year. One can speculate that this unique institution in international adult education could not have survived for very long if it had been based on propaganda. The Institute has relied on quality; its highly competent teachers present the American society from many perspectives openly, thoroughly and honestly. Thus, Nordic educators have had their own "Meeting America" courses, with 1,216 participants through three decades. As far as its quality, the Institute has enjoyed high esteem in the Nordic countries, and it awarded the late King Olaf of Norway an honorary doctorate from Luther College.¹¹¹

13. The Demise of Meeting Europe Courses

When E.M. Hutchinson, President of the Assembly, gave the general account of the past two years in the 1967 General Assembly of the European Bureau, he noted that "we existed on a skeleton staff ..." During the same meeting, when the item on Meeting Europe Courses was under discussion, he took a clear stand on the future of the courses, and said: "The President stressed the difficulties in promoting the courses to [sic.] for a further year. The Bureau would be prepared to circulate useful data to national organiza-

¹¹⁰ See Evaluation Sheets and Report 1966, p. 21, EBAEA.

¹¹¹ Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa*. Third Printing. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1990, p. 106; Timo Toiviainen, "Tehokkaassa englannin kielen opissa," in *Kansanopisto'/Folkhögskolan* 6-7/91, pp. 26-28; The folder of the 30th annual Institute in American Studies for Scandinavian Educators: July 1-25, 1993, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa 52101, USA.

tions prepared to take the initiative in promoting 'Meeting Europe' courses. The matter would have to be reviewed again next year."¹¹²

The following messages, which are also supported by other documents of the Bureau, could be read in the comments of Dr. Hutchinson:

- 1) The staff of the Bureau was, in fact, too small to maintain a project of the magnitude of the Meeting Europe courses.
- 2) National adult education organizations should be prepared to take the main responsibility for organizing the courses in the future; the Bureau could only take a supporting role.
- 3) The Bureau did not want to withdraw from the responsibility immediately, but from now on plans could be made only for one year at a time, depending on available resources.

For some reason, the minutes of the 1967 meeting do not mention finances at all, even though that might well have been the chief explanation for the new situation. It is more likely that the Bureau had already been in some way informed that funding for the courses was about to be cut. In 1968, funding from the European Cultural Foundation and other sponsors was down to less than 6,000 guilders when only a year before it had been about 18,500 guilders (see Table 2). Courses in 1968 could only be carried out on a diminished scale (see Table 9). Information that the ECF was to fund the courses in 1969 came well in time, in May of 1968. Bob Schouten called the course leaders from the various countries immediately to a planning meeting which could be carried out before the 1968 courses took place.¹¹³

112 Minutes of General Assembly, October 27th, 1967, p. 1, EBAAE.

113 Bob Schouten to course leaders, May 21st, 1968, EBAAE.

The following quotation is relevant and, despite its length, deserves to be included here because it contains the key elements of the thinking of Bob Schouten, the chief architect of the Meeting Europe courses. It also shows that when such a person sees the inherent values and goals of some cause as important, he wants to work for that cause even if the 'world was shaking underfoot,' and even if its financial foundation is already crumbling. In his first sketch for the general as well as individual topics for the 1969 courses Schouten notes the following:

- **BASIC IDEA:** A generation of thought and efforts has not yet given us a clear picture of the possible European contribution to the contemporary problems of humanity in the world at large. The technical possibilities of economic integration and of cultural diffusion are obstinately opposed by the diversity of personal and national interests, rooted in historical traditions, embodied in differences of languages and the customs and prejudices of daily life.
- If the historical part of earlier European development is to be helpful in reducing the internal and external tensions of unequal distribution of population and material resources, we have continuing need to explore all the possibilities of mutual understanding and common responsibilities. It is for this reason that the European Bureau of Adult Education with the help of its associates will provide opportunities in 1969 in seven countries to debate aspects and trends in the European situation.
- The common title of these courses will be "Towards the Europe in 1980," but each course will have a particular emphasis— in terms of economies, politics, education, land use and population growth.

Suggested specializations:

Great Britain:	Education for the future;
Belgium:	North-south relations;
Netherlands:	Planning the country - new cities;
France:	Participation - Democracy. A new generation wants to take the lead.
West Germany:	European agriculture 1980;
Finland:	East-west relations;
Austria:	(no theme mentioned). ¹¹⁴

Later, the individual titles for the courses became more focused and catchy, but the general outlines envisioned by Schouten remained unchanged.¹¹⁵

In September of 1969, Bob Schouten wrote to the European Cultural Foundation to express gratitude for having carried out six more Meeting Europe courses in 1969 (there were a total of 175 participants from 22 different countries; the course in Austria was canceled.) In the same letter, Schouten announced that he was applying for ECF funding for courses in 1970, but that this would be the last time the EBAE would ask for assistance for this particular cause. As a reason, he offered the following: according to the Steering Committee, the EBAE had fulfilled its task by creating the prerequisites for an institution like the Meeting Europe courses to be developed. According to the Steering Committee's view, the EBAE could not continue as the organizer any longer; the responsibility had to be taken up by the national organizations. Schouten also re-

114 Meeting Europe courses in 1969 - first draft: Europe 1980 or Towards the Europe of 1980 by Bob Schouten, 17 September, 1968, EBAEA.

115 Draft folder "Meeting Europe" courses 1969 (by Bob Schouten), November 1968, EBAEA.

ferred to the economics of the matter: "...we are well aware of the fact, that your support cannot be a lasting one."¹¹⁶

Transferring the responsibility for organizing the courses to the national organizations was not a leap in the dark. Bob Schouten had been charting the situation already, and knew that only few of the national organizations were ready to take up the responsibility for organizing the courses. The main obstacle in the matter was the course language. Internationalization had, understandably, advanced mainly through closer contacts between neighboring countries based on cultural exchange programs between them. Thus, the starting point for bilateral course activities was usually to have the language of the host country as the course language and to arrange for interpretation when necessary. If one tried to expand from this bilateral cultural exchange to a situation where more languages were involved, the difficulties would often become unmanageable. Schouten understood this very well; nevertheless, he continued, with some annoyance: "In our opinion the charm of the Meeting Europe project is just the fact they form a meeting place for participants individually coming from many different countries. The use of a common foreign language is essential for this purpose."¹¹⁷

The money for organizing the 1970 courses was received from the ECF. It was used to organize three Meeting Europe courses proper, in Finland, Great Britain and the Netherlands. There was also a course in Austria, in Haus Rief near Salzburg, but its character differed from the other three 1970 courses in that it was clearly targeted to full-time professional adult educators.¹¹⁸

116 Bob Schouten to J.H.W. Lups, European Cultural Foundation, September 5th, 1969, EBAAE.

117 Ibid.

118 The folder of 1970 Meeting Europe Courses, EBAAE.

After this, the EBAE did not seek outside financing for organizing the Meeting Europe courses. The torch had been passed on to the national organizations for good. Time would tell whether they were ready to accept the challenge.

There is one more incident connected with the final years of the Meeting Europe courses which was to be of great importance to the EBAE. When Miss Pijl could not continue her work as the course organizer, she was succeeded by Willem Bax who was given this task as well as some other projects.¹¹⁹ Initially, Mr. Bax held the post of Deputy Director, but later (1971-) succeeded Schouten as the Director. His service to the EBAE is now nearing a quarter of a century.

Evidence from the available sources clearly reveals the purpose of Meeting Europe courses as set out by the European Bureau of Adult Education that was to cultivate support for the unification of Europe at its incipient stage. However, the Bureau's basic idea for running the courses remained, to a large extent, alien to the participants. National organizers of the courses soon adapted their course programs according to participants' learning goals rather than to the Bureau's goals.

Despite its being ahead of its time, the Bureau's struggle for détente in Europe was not in vain. It was to the Bureau's benefit to be one of the first promoters among those striving to promote better relations between Western and Eastern Europe.

119 Schouten, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

VIII. FINLAND BUILDS ON THE COURSE TRADITION

In Section 5 of the previous chapter (Countries and Schools Involved in Implementing the Courses), I noted how Austria and Sweden participated in the Meeting Europe program during its first two years in 1964-65, and then withdrew. Finland, on the other hand, was the only country to join the program during its third year, 1966. There was an understandable reason behind this late awakening. Primarily as a result of Finland's relationship with the Soviet Union, she was somewhat marginalized from developments taking place in Western Europe, and new moves like this had to be made with caution. Credit for Finland's joining the Meeting Europe project belongs solely to the "Grand Old Man" of Finnish adult education, Professor Kosti Huuhka. Huuhka knew Bob Schouten personally,¹ and this undoubtedly helped Finland to break new ground in adult education.

Finnish adult education had maintained contacts with Scandinavian countries from the late 19th century onwards. After Finland became independent in 1917, these contacts were extended to Central Europe, England, and the United States.² Within this long-term development, the Meeting Europe courses were a unique phenomenon constituting an altogether new dimension of activities. Considering all this, the mere fact that the 1966-70 courses could be carried out at all, despite financial and language difficulties among others, must have been very encouraging to the organizers. This positive experience was a significant factor when, in 1971, the Association of Finnish Adult Education Organizations board had to decide whether to stop organizing the courses or to carry on with the tradition.

1 Article by Kosti Huuhka in the 10-year anniversary publication of the AFAEO VSY 1969-1979, ed. by Helena Kekkonen. Helsinki: VSY, 1979; and personal communication with Professor Huuhka, 5 May 1993.

2 Timo Toiviainen, "Early Finnish Interaction with Adult Education Abroad: An Historical Perspective." *Term Paper*, OISE, Fall 1993, pp. 1-15.

I am particularly interested in why the Association wanted to continue the tradition, despite the Bureau having given up its former role as a central organizer in 1971, and despite the fact that no other countries were interested in retaining this activity. In an earlier research, I concluded that in the 1950s and 1960s Finland was slowly but deliberately opening up towards more and more interaction with the Western world.³

The Society of Culture and Education, with its Director Kosti Huuhka, had a significant role in this opening up process. Joining the Meeting Europe program was an integral part of this process of broadening interaction. It should be noted that continuing the tradition after 1971 is connected to the same Finnish desire to maintain and to create new contacts with adult education abroad.⁴ This general tendency was so strong that the discontinuation of an all-European program could not as such influence it. The Finnish adult education community was able to carry on from the foundation laid by the Meeting Europe courses, and, since they were not tied to its original ideologies, to expand on the tradition by seeking new content.

Closely connected with the previous point is the way in which the tendency towards extending international contacts led, in 1969, to the founding of the Association of Finnish Adult Education Organizations (AFAEO). In addition to lobbying for the interests of adult education in Finland, its other main task was to maintain international contacts.⁵ Giving up the most important annual international event held in the country, now that a permanent organizing body with improved capabilities had just been founded a couple of years earlier, clearly would have seemed inappropriate for this reason as well. As a matter of fact, the AFAEO belonged to a group of new national coordinating bodies

3 Ibid., pp. 15-33.

4 Ibid.

5 Minutes of the founding meeting of the AFAEO, March 4, 1969, including the newly-passed Constitution, AFAEOA. It is notable that the predecessor to the AFAEO, the Finnish Adult Education Committee, was *not an officially registered organization*.

which were born *partially* as a result of the founding of the EBAE and the activities it created.⁶

In the early 1970s, Finland witnessed an adult education boom of unprecedented magnitude. The most obvious indication of this was the founding of the State Adult Education Committee in the Fall of 1970.⁷ At about the same time, adult education organizations, the AFAEO among them, became more active. Their contacts with political organizations and other sectors of society grew stronger. They also began to take a stand on questions of a political nature that extended beyond their original mandate, such as initiatives on peace and security in Europe.⁸ Under these circumstances, hardly anything could have been more fitting from the AFAEO's standpoint than an international seminar that could concentrate on international and global issues vital to Finland. The sub-heading East-West Relations, used for one of the last Meeting Europe courses in Finland, already anticipated a new stage, which began in 1971. Searching for a new role for the seminar, and inspired by the fact that Finland was situated between East and West, the AFAEO hoped that the now renamed Meeting in Finland Seminar could become useful in promoting interaction between adult educators in the Socialist countries and the Western world.

New possibilities opened up for the Meeting in Finland Seminar to make real contributions to the dialogue between adult educators in the East and West. In the 1960s, the Finnish government began to establish bilateral cultural treaties with various Socialist countries. Many of these treaties included the statement that for the Finnish

6 Cf. G.H.L. Schouten, "European Adult Education Ten Years after the Montreal Conference," in *Convergence*, vol.III (1970), No. 2, p. 74.

7 For further information concerning developments in Finnish adult education in the early 1970s, consult *Aikuiskoulutuksen johtoryhmän mietintö* [A Report of the Steering Council of Adult Education]. Komiteamietintö 1985:36, Helsinki; and Erkki Karjalainen - Timo Toiviainen, *Suomen vapaan kansansivistystyön vaiheet* [A History of Finnish Liberal Adult Education]. Espoo: Weilin & Göös, 1984, Part C.

8 How political and other social issues began to receive more attention within the AFAEO can clearly be seen in the AFAEO board minutes from the early 1970s, AFAEOA.

side, the AFAEO would be responsible for the practical organization of cultural exchange in the area of adult education.⁹ Since it was difficult or impossible for adult educators from the Socialist countries to travel to the West, these cultural exchange treaties between Finland and some of those countries offered the AFAEO the privilege to host once a year, with Government money, several Eastern European adult education delegations. These delegations were invited to the Meeting in Finland Seminar, which thus provided a real opportunity to create a dialogue between adult educators from the East and West, since there was never any shortage of Western adult educators in the seminars. It should be kept in mind, however, that this cultural exchange activity with Eastern European countries had only begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Developing its forms took a decade.

In the preceding paragraph, I was already dealing with cooperation between governments and non-governmental organizations. This kind of cooperation could be, as was aptly stated in one of the International Council for Adult Education Seminar publications, "A Source of Life or a Kiss of Death."¹⁰ In the case of the Meeting in Finland Seminar, it has been a source of life. In other words, the Finnish Government's Ministry of Education supported the Meeting Europe courses and later the Meeting in Finland Seminars financially and in other ways;¹¹ without this support neither of these could hardly have existed. These events had thus become more than just another form of activity for the Finnish adult education community. The Ministry of Education must have maintained that these seminars and courses promoted a desirable image of Finland; otherwise it would not have made sense to support them. This attitude is aptly phrased in a statement by Olavi Alkio, Assistant Head of Department, Ministry of Education, at the opening of the 1990 Meeting in Finland Seminar:

9 Consult cultural exchange treaties between Finland and Bulgaria, DDR, the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia & Yugoslavia, AFAEOA.

10 *NGO [Non-Governmental Organization] / Government Relations: A Source of Life or a Kiss of Death?* ICAE/CEAAL/AALAE/PRIA: Consultation Report, March 20-23, 1989. New Delhi.

11 See Ministry of Education's decisions on support for the courses and seminars in question, AFAEOA.

Rudyard Kipling, the English writer, once wrote: 'East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet.' Finland, however, disagrees, and *has presented a neutral channel through which East and West have been able to communicate with each other.* (emphasis added)¹²

Above, I have briefly discussed the most important reasons why the AFAEO continued the Meeting Europe tradition. Earlier, in the Introduction to this study, I mentioned that the 25th Meeting in Finland Seminar was held in 1993,¹³ counting from the first "Meeting Europe" course held in Finland in 1966. A simple calculation indicates that the seminar was not held every year after 1971. There were indeed some breaks in organizing these seminars in the 1970s, breaks that indicate how, despite many positive factors supporting the cause, *continuing the tradition was not easy*. A new period of development did not begin until 1977, when Helena Kekkonen, who had become the Secretary General of the AFAEO three years earlier, reshaped the seminar into an event for promoting peace education, a profile that it retained until 1986. During this period (1977-86), the seminar attained global recognition, and its developer, Helena Kekkonen, was awarded the first UNESCO prize in peace education.¹⁴ This phase as well as the next phase which followed from 1987 onward would, however, form a topic for a separate study.

Summarizing the four major differences between the Meeting Europe courses and the Meeting in Finland Seminar leads to the following comparisons:

- The age group of 20 to 40 was the primary target population for Meeting Europe courses. For the Meeting in Finland Seminar, no specific age group was given preference.

12 *Meeting in Finland Seminar 1990. Final Report*. Helsinki, AFAEO, 1990, p. 11.

13 *Meeting in Finland Seminar. Final Report 1993*. Helsinki: The Finnish Adult Education Association, 1994.

14 Helena Kekkonen describes this phase in her recently published memoirs *Rauhan siltaa rakentamassa* [Building a Bridge for Peace]. Hämeenlinna: Kirjapaja, 1993, pp. 222-244.

- Meeting Europe courses tried to attract first and foremost students and teachers from any background. In comparison, the Meeting in Finland Seminar specialized to serve the professional needs of adult educators. In the years 1977-86, priority was given to those with special interest in peace education.
- A major organizer and promoter of Meeting Europe courses was the EBAE, a continental umbrella association, whereas the Meeting in Finland Seminar is an effort by one national coordinating body.
- In the Meeting Europe courses, representation from Eastern European and Third World countries was rare. The Meeting in Finland Seminar, however, encourages and supports their participation, which is a major point of departure.

IX. ANALYSES AND REFLECTIONS

1. General Remarks on Rasila's "Laws"

When I first found Professor Rasila's outline of "trivial and random laws" of history (see Chapter III), I was intrigued by them. I knew that, if I could conduct my study according to those historiographical guidelines discussed in Chapter III, I would not need the set of "laws" Rasila has developed. Knowing this helped me work freely, since I could wait with curiosity to see to what extent these laws would apply to and throw light on the events and phenomena I was studying.

Here I am evaluating these laws for their ability to contribute to research in the history of adult education. These laws are the following:

- ✱ The law of intention or continuity
- ✱ The law of irreversibility
- ✱ The law of insufficient means
- ✱ The law of entropy or seeking balance
- ✱ The law of holism, and
- ✱ The law of diffusion.

Relatively early in the course of my study, it became apparent that these laws would not necessarily apply in a uniform way to all events and phenomena of a certain time. They might be significant in, for instance, international politics at a certain time, but have hardly any noticeable effect on the culture of the same period. The law of insufficient means, for example, does not, even under extreme conditions—such as during or immediately after a war—have the same effect in all communities, countries or in international economics. When there are disturbances in economic activity, insuffi-

ciencies of all kinds increase, but this has varying effects on different groups of people. The same holds true for the law of continuity; continuity and change at various levels are very complex phenomena. It is important to realize that, although changes taking place in communities might be very substantial, not all things are necessarily changing. Human beings would probably not even be able to stand a situation where no continuity prevailed.

Another observation concerning Rasila's laws was how they began to have a positive influence on my thinking. The conceptual framework they offered directed my attention, especially towards the "large" issues. This guidance was most useful, since a historian who is genuinely trying to produce new knowledge can easily become preoccupied with issues that are too small. If the small issues take up too much of the researcher's attention, the vital connections among the main issues being studied and main trends of the times in which they take place might not receive enough attention. Thus the framework provided by Rasila's laws in part helped keep my research focused and helped me see connections between large and small issues as well as giving direction and purpose to my study.

As a third general observation, I can note that Professor Rasila apparently has carefully considered how one should relate to his laws. As he says, there is a certain sense of "triviality" and "randomness" to them. These laws have influenced my thinking in mainly subjective ways, as a kind of inner learning experience, so I cannot on the level of general evaluations do any more to convince my readers about their usefulness for my study. It is my hope, however, that a few other researchers would be willing to try out their effectiveness, since only then would it become possible to recommend them for wider use.

2. Law-by-Law Testing of the Relevance of Rasila's Laws

Human beings have a basic need for security. As long as everything in one's environment and in the world continues as usual, then at least no changes for the worse are taking place. Most people would probably choose stability, if they were presented with

the choice between change or more of the same. Immediately following the Second World War, millions of people must have nostalgically remembered the years prior to the war, wishing it had never come and that all could have continued as it was before. This nostalgia was specifically founded on the fact that, in the late 1930s a large part of humanity—especially those who were to become the main participants in the war—had reached unprecedented levels of material well-being.

The initiatives taken by the European Cultural Centre (E.C.C.) for developing adult education contained much that was new; initiatives that were met with strong suspicion. How could it be expected, for instance, that western European countries that had been on opposite sides during the war could now begin to cooperate without problems, when attempts at such cooperation under more favorable conditions before the war had all failed? The reactions of the potential members of the European Bureau to the E.C.C.'s initiative either defended provincialism or represented fossilized remnants of old nationalism. The initiative in turn represented a new kind of cooperation and a type of internationalism that already before the war had been given such a solid foundation that even the war could not completely wipe it away, but only delayed it by several decades.

As I have noted, the strong need for security in humans is a need that seeks support in continuity. The Second World War, however, was much too vast an experience for things to continue unchanged after it was over. The great changes taking place reflected, as mentioned before, on European adult education as well. This study offers strong evidence that despite all these changes, adult educators tried to cling to continuity despite efforts to offer them an opportunity for change. In the end, though, the impetus towards change proved stronger.

Another of Rasila's "trivial and random laws" that is relevant here is the law of irreversibility. When the Second World War had resulted in the loss of millions of lives and immense material destruction and, what was perhaps the worst, had harnessed the human mind to create uncontrollable forces of destruction, the thought of everything

continuing as it had been before seemed absurd. The First World War had, in some respects, been a more dramatic event for Europeans than the Second World War; but, after WWI people did not yet have nuclear power at their disposal—and *nuclear power alone was sufficient to signal the advent of a new and horrifying era in the history of humankind*. Nuclear power was the result of a technological development process, and in its wake followed pollution problems and the threat of the depletion of natural resources. Although the main intent of the EBAE—the principal organizer of the Meeting Europe courses—was to support the move towards a unified Europe, these new problems of peace, pollution and depletion of natural resources began to find their way into the programs of the Meeting Europe courses as well.

The Second World War caused old-style colonial imperialism to collapse quickly and irreversibly. What followed was the rise of a new major antagonism. By the 1960s it was realized that a vast rift separated the wealthy countries of the north and the poverty-stricken countries of the south. Some might see the situation as merely representing the principle of continuity. Formal independence failed to produce real improvements in the lives of the people living in what came to be called the Third World. For adult education, though, it was to mean countless literacy programs and other educational and development projects that attempted to counter the tendency for colonialist practices to continue in a different form.

Among other sectors of a society, education benefitted greatly from the economic boom beginning in the early 1950s and continued to the late 1970s, and in some Western industrial countries even to the mid-1980s. However, during later periods, insufficiency (the law of insufficient means) has more or less regularly led to a discussion about excess spending in education and the need to scale such spending down as soon as there are any indications of a general economic downturn. It is understandable that adult education was not among the top priorities immediately after the war. Instead, within the contexts of the all-European cooperation this study has been dealing with, the role given to adult education has been surprisingly strong. The strength of the role indicates that adult education

had already proved its potential prior to the War, since otherwise it would not have been thought able to carry out undertakings such as those I have been discussing.

Adult education's already strengthening status during the 1950s is also indicated by its focus on the UNESCO World Conference in Montreal in 1960 at the height of the Cold War. When the situation in the world is remembered, as well as in adult education, during UNESCO's Elsinore meeting in 1949, the importance of the Montreal conference becomes clear. Not only did it codify steps that had been taken during the preceding decade, but, more importantly, it made an effort to activate the potential of adult education that had largely been "on hold" before the war. When examining this positive development, it is essential to remember that universal development in adult education was riding on the crest of a strong economic upswing, which, on a global scale, continued to carry it until the mid-1980s. Then an economic recession began in the western industrialized countries, and the Eastern Block of socialist countries broke down. On the national level, these events have, in many cases, meant that adult education, along with the rest of education, has been forced to confront a new era of insufficient means. Under this new shortage of resources, those adult education organizations which are learner-centered and based on voluntarism might well turn out to survive the best. It is conceivable that such developments could give new hope to the Third World countries.

The above points lead us to the conclusion that an ideal state of affairs for adult education—as for all development—is peace, economic prosperity and international politics based on lowering tensions between powers. In the real world, such a state of affairs is hardly possible. If one were to describe such a state as a state of balance like one of Professor Rasila's laws does, one would have to conclude that reality is always more or less in a state of imbalance. What kind of an imbalance, then, was there in Europe after the Second World War?

The division of Europe was the major source of imbalance. From this point of view, a *unified Western Europe* that the E.C.C. was promoting—with a role in the ef-

fort seen for the EBAE as well—was a *most undesirable goal*. A strong and unified Western Europe could only have helped to increase tension and imbalance in the area. Thus, contrary to the position held by the EBAE's leadership at the time, attempts to undermine this unity must be seen as *positive and stabilizing*, although Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s strongly disapproved of them. One such attempt, for example, was to maintain that Europe's eastern border was the Ural Mountains, rather than the Iron Curtain. One must, of course, also note that in many cases the actions taken by political powers east of the Iron Curtain were apt to solidify the division of Europe, and thus significant steps toward a state of balance could not, for various reasons, be made until after the mid-1980's.

The shift from the perspective of a sub-continent to that of an individual is a long one, making it problematic to draw parallels between the two. Learning in its various forms is, however, our individual way to try to maintain balance between ourselves and the environment. The environment is constantly setting new demands on people to adapt, challenging them to maintain balance. Different individuals have different ways of responding to these challenges; thus, their relationship also varies to the state of balance that gives the individual optimum preconditions for self-realization and control of one's own life. Since the Second World War resulted in immense and permanent changes in people's environments, it is understandable that UNESCO was ready to present adult education with new challenges in the Montreal Conference.

The move after the war towards a unified Europe was fully understandable in the sense that Europe had never been unified before. The experience of a non-unified Europe during two World Wars, on the other hand, was so horrifying that it was natural to seek new alternatives. From a wider European perspective, however, the Cold War reversed the direction of this development. What the Cold War did do, though, was to "globalize" the world more than anyone had experienced before. Western Europe's de facto dependence on the United States tied the two together, whether the Americans wanted it or not. Europe was forced to accept United States' policies in Asia or Latin America even if it did not like them. On the level of international politics, everything began to influence

everything else in a way people had not experienced before. Highly developed mass media could transmit news about events in one corner of the global village to everyone else in real time.

From a historical point of view, the transmission of cultural phenomena (the law of diffusion) from one place to another is nothing new. We know this has been happening through all of our documented history. In this sense as well, the period after the Second World War was to be different from earlier periods. New was the unprecedented speed of change. The kind of change which used to take decades might now, due to highly developed technology, take place very quickly. Historical studies show, however, that people complain about the pace of change being too fast and wish that the "good old days"—a time of a slower-paced way of life—would come back. This perception seems to indicate that the experience of an accelerating pace of change can be explained more by subjective factors than by actual circumstances.

For adult education, cultural phenomena, including different forms of adult education, began to spread from one country to another at a faster pace after the Second World War. In this process, which I will examine more closely in the next chapter, the European Bureau of Adult Education played a significant role.

3. The Joys and Sorrows of Research

Historical studies have their own classic pitfalls that easily hinder the process, lengthen it excessively and, in the worst case, force the researcher to abandon the whole project. When a historical researcher studies the time dimension of her or his topic, the question easily arises, as it should, of why something took place or what had to happen first before something else could. Unless the researcher finds a suitable juncture at which to end this spiral leading further and further back, he or she will face insurmountable problems.

The structure of my dissertation offers an illuminating example of what I mean by a "backwards leading spiral". My original intention was to study the Meeting

Europe courses. I could not even begin discussing their roots, to say nothing of the courses themselves, until I had written close to a hundred pages of text. Had I not reached "backwards" with my topic, the courses would have remained a somewhat detached phenomenon, disconnected from time and the rest of history. Even as such, I believe the study would have been an adequate contribution to research in education. It is my hope now that by including more of a background to the events I have given the study more historical depth, relevance, and even interest.

No decision made in the course of a study is without its problems. I realized this fact very clearly when I was investigating the political background of the Meeting Europe courses and noticed the interesting connection they had with the European federalists and the attempts to "re-educate the German people" after the Second World War. It is self-evident that the *reader* might find these a much more interesting topic than my detailed analyses of the courses. I would like to emphasize strongly, therefore, that these two extremely interesting questions are not the *theme* of this study, although *they help to create a background for my topic*.

Working on this research has brought me great joy and satisfaction. My previous education in two fields, history and adult education, has given me a good basis for carrying it out. I have tried to compensate for any shortcomings as a researcher through my professional skills and experience. At the time of this writing, I have practically a full year of studies behind me at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. A significant part of this study, especially collecting the primary sources, had already been completed when I began my studies in Toronto in September of 1993. Since then, I have been working on this study almost daily, and I have often been struck by how much I have been influenced by the courses I have been taking at OISE. Naturally, the reader might think; nevertheless, I have been surprised by the changes taking place in me. At present, I believe that much of this change is due to the fact that I have moved from one culture to another. I have found it very liberating that, as a student, I have been encouraged to follow and to challenge my own predilections rather than having everything subjected to scientific rigor. I have begun to suspect that such rigor might just as easily be an obstacle rather than a

foundation for creativity and scientific inquiry. I continue to value the education I had received in my own country, but I now see its limitations more readily. I feel that in its academia, North American society has continued to value the kind of pluralism for which it was originally founded. In the European cultural heritage, on the other hand, permissiveness and tolerance towards differences are still frighteningly scarce.

X. CONCLUSIONS

1. Significance of the European Bureau of Adult Education

The EBAE's most important achievement during its first two decades was in advancing the creation of national coordinating bodies for adult education. The existence of such bodies was significant both for developing adult education within a particular country and from the viewpoint of increasing international contacts in adult education. In addition, when the EBAE began to organize regular meeting opportunities for professionals in adult education in the 1950s, it gave them the opportunity to improve their professional skills. Through these various educational events, not only did representatives of the member non-governmental organizations have a chance to meet one another, but representatives of governments and international organizations also participated. Maintaining contacts with administrators was also important at the Bureau's level, since such contacts were often essential on the national level. As international organizations increasingly began to take a stand on adult education, contacts with these organizations were also becoming more important.

The significance of the EBAE was not limited to arranging educational events and other venues of interaction, however. One of the very first concrete steps taken by the organization was the founding of an all-European quarterly *Notes and Studies*. It was followed by the first European directories, glossaries and abstracts in adult education, all of which filled much of the need for professional information and encouraged member organizations to start their own publication programs for the benefit of the international adult education community.¹ For the personal development of national adult education leaders, the new dimension of international experience now being offered

1 Among other factors, these impulses from the EBAE led to the Finnish Society of Culture and Education in 1966 to start publishing in English a journal called *Adult Education in Finland*. In 1990, it was expanded and re-named as *Life and Education in Finland*. The publisher has remained the same.

through the EBAE became a significant tool. Through the EBAE, these men and women got new impulses and practical self-confidence, both of which were of utmost importance when they fought for development of adult education on the national level.

It is clear that the founding of the EBAE gave an example that encouraged adult educators in other parts of the world to found similar cooperating organizations. Among professional adult educators, the crucial role played by J. Roby Kidd in the founding of the International Council for Adult Education is well known. Much of his initiative for proposing a worldwide organization came from the support from influential Europeans, such as Helmuth Dolff, Arthur Stock, Paul Bertelsen, and Paul Lengrand. These educators either were influential in the EBAE, or cooperated closely with it through UNESCO; indeed, Lengrand was UNESCO's Head of Adult Education Division. From the very beginning, EBAE's role as a communication channel and a lobbying power for adult education both within UNESCO and the European Community was significant. The international role of the EBAE has been further characterized by the open-mindedness with which it began to encourage Eastern European organizations to join all-European cooperation during the Cold War.

2. Long-standing Consequences of Traumatic Origins

The European Cultural Centre, instead of the national umbrella organizations, took the initiative to found the EBAE. In some sense, this action has had consequences for the EBAE that have extended into the present. When the EBAE was being founded, the Dutch already had the political will to support the policies of the E.C.C. and thus also the initiative to found the Bureau. This development also resulted in the Dutch government's willingness to cover most of the Bureau's annual expenses. On the other hand, the national umbrella organizations, the members of the EBAE, never took on the responsibility for jointly financing the Bureau. In many cases, the members of the EBAE receive membership fees from their own members on the national level that are many times higher than what they, in turn, are willing to pay to the EBAE.

The problems arising from low membership fees and the EBAE's financial difficulties have never been solved by substantially raising the membership fees. Instead, the organization has been successful in increasing its potential by finding outside sponsorship. In this context, we are reminded of the financial support from private sponsors that made organizing the Meeting Europe courses possible. Later, in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, various projects of the Bureau, publishing activities for instance², have been supported by European Community commissions and other bodies. The EBAE's member organizations have indirectly, but effectively, supported the Bureau by hosting and sponsoring its General Assemblies, Steering Committee meetings, and meetings of its other committees, seminars and other events. Thus those members that could afford it have been able to fund the EBAE according to their means without a need for higher membership fees that might have caused difficulties for the less affluent members.

The early 1990s marked the beginning of structural development for the EBAE. Since it was neither realistic nor desirable to facilitate expanding activities by universally raising the membership fees, a different approach was chosen. To support the Bureau's main office in Amersfoort, Holland, new offices were established that would specialize in particular tasks and be primarily funded by organizations in the countries where they were located. After the latest and the last one of these new offices was opened, in Helsinki in June, 1993, the office network of the EBAE-EAEA consists of the following units:

- EAEA Organization and Development Office: Barcelona, Catalonia;

2 The Barcelona office of the EBAE-EAEA has started publishing the series *Monographs*. For instance, the second volume in this series, Paulo Federighi, Willem Bax, and Lucien Bosselaers, *Adult Education Organizations in the Countries of the European Community. Notes for a Directory* [Barcelona: EBAE-EAEA, 1993, 192 pp.] has been supported by the Commission of the European Communities Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth.

- EAEA Relations with European and International Organizations: Mechelen [Brussels], Belgium;
- EAEA Amersfoort Office: Amersfoort, The Netherlands; and
- EAEA Information and Documentation Office: Helsinki, Finland.³

The EBAE General Assembly, which takes place in the autumn of 1994, offers the first opportunity to widely assess the success of the new office network. The same Assembly is to officially approve the organization title as the European Association for the Education of Adults, a name which has been used, alongside the old name, for some time.

One of the central problems of the early phase of the EBAE was that the leadership of the organization consisted mainly of representatives of the folk high schools (FHS), and that the organization's activities strongly reflected this fact. Although this condition has not been the case for some time, the issue can be raised when discussing the effectiveness of the EBAE as an organization serving its members. It is obvious the FHS activity in many European countries means that if the EBAE is unable to fulfill the folk high schools' reasonable expectations, they might move to found their own umbrella organization. This possibility should be taken seriously, since the FHS institution is the most widespread form of adult education in Europe and is thus better equipped to maintain its own organization than are other sectors of adult education.

As I have demonstrated, the European Cultural Centre had a decisive role in founding the EBAE. Signs that the E.C.C. tried to abuse its influence on the Bureau were not found in the sources studied during the course of this research. On the other hand, when the European Community began to expand its activities in the 1970s and the Bu-

3 Ibid., p. 101.

reau consequently deemed it necessary to maintain closer contacts with it, organizations in countries not belonging to the E.C. might have viewed these contacts as excessive. If Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden join the European Union on 1 January, 1995, as indicated, this "dilemma of being tied to the European Community" will be solved for the organizations of the Western European countries, but will remain for the member organizations from Eastern Europe.

3. The Relationship of EBAE Members to the Meeting Europe Courses

One of the central questions of my study has been what it meant to the organizations that joined the Meeting Europe courses, and how it possibly affected the adult education communities in their countries. My conclusions strongly suggest that, in most cases, organizations joined the program more because of the prevailing political climates in their countries, than because of needs arising from the adult education community within a country. West Germany joined the program chiefly from the perspective of the country wanting in various ways to break its post-war isolation. The Finnish Adult Education Committee, on the other hand, used the courses to open international channels the country had not had due to its relationship with the Soviet Union. Sweden managed to be interested in the program for only two years, but one might well ask whether it had any need for the program. After Sweden had lost Finland to Russia in 1809 as a result of a lost war, it had been able to avoid all subsequent wars and to develop its democracy and welfare policies during a long period of peace. It also already had plenty of international contacts in various fields, because it could afford them, and the affluent always have friends. The feeling that Sweden had become rather self-satisfied was noticed even by participants on the Swedish Meeting Europe courses in their evaluations. In fact, the program had no proper function for anybody in the country, and, understandably, Sweden dropped out of it.

This study has also shown how France, in different contexts, wanted to play an important role in Europe. Participating in a European program fits well with this picture, but mere participation was not enough for the French. The French (perhaps to spite

the English) insisted on special recognition for French culture, demanding that French would be the language of all courses held in France, whereas the language for all courses held elsewhere was English. Although we cannot answer the question, we can ask whether the French wished to promote French culture or European unification by organizing their courses.

Dutch and Belgian participation, I would maintain, reflected a shared wish after the war to promote international understanding. Together with Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg explored new ways to pursue this goal of promoting international understanding, even as the larger countries in the area were having trouble approaching one another. These Benelux countries might have been encouraged by the thought that a federal Europe could be better equipped to solve conflicts than one based on nation-states and nationalism.

Like Sweden, Austria dropped out of the Meeting Europe program after two years, perhaps because it wished to continue a series of summer conferences already started in 1958.⁴ Of all the countries in the Meeting Europe program, England was probably the one whose motives were most closely tied with adult education. This belief is strengthened by the fact that the courses were organized by Knuston Hall and by Holly Royde College, both well-known adult education centres. The fact that no Meeting Europe courses were held in Southern European countries indicates the early stages of development of adult education organizations in those countries at the time.

4 Consult Robert Streibel, "Die Multikulturelle Gesellschaft als Herausforderung: 35. internationale Salzburger Gespräche für Leiter in der Erwachsenenbildung", in *Die Österreichische Volkshochschule*, Juni 1993, Heft 168/44. Jg., pp. 6-32.

4. What Kind of "Contribution"?

There might have been the quotation marks around "contribution" in the title of this study to serve to emphasize how difficult or impossible it is to scientifically measure the EBAE's goals regarding the contribution of the Meeting Europe courses to the European unification process. The courses may or may not have had the desired effects on the *participants*, but I have not considered it possible to study this. One should ask, therefore, whether the founding of the EBAE and the course series it organized had any other consequences that could be studied and reported.

The process of European unification has been characterized, for instance, by political decision-makers advancing the process despite the continuing resistance it has met with in virtually every country involved. In a certain sense this politization has been necessary, since if the European unification process had to be approved by a consensus in every country it could never be accomplished. Nevertheless, there are limits to how far the process could be taken against the will of the people. In fact, the unification process has suffered serious setbacks precisely because the voice of the people has too often been ignored.

In a situation of this kind, an organization like the EBAE represents a democratic road towards a unified Europe, a fact for which the organization deserves special credit. Together with some similar organizations, the EBAE has played this role for over 40 years. Within the Nordic countries, it has been possible to rather extensively rely on grassroots initiatives and local democracy. Adult education, which in the Nordic countries has been on the average much more strongly supported by public funds than in the rest of Western Europe, forms an integral part of this process. The EBAE has in fact taken measures to make the Nordic model more common within the European Union.

Ignorance and prejudice are the most serious obstacles to international understanding and all forms of "unification processes." When the EBAE, in an unprejudiced fashion, embarked upon cooperation with adult educators from Eastern Europe, it was

able to show that, despite different political systems, the fundamental questions of adult education are largely the same in all countries and that adult educators from Western Europe did not necessarily share the divisive opinions of their political leaders. Thus, already 20 years earlier, the EBAE was laying a foundation for the kind of all-European unification which could not seriously be discussed on a political level until the early 1990s.

CONSTITUTION

of the European Bureau of Adult Education (Bureau Européen de l'Education Populaire -Europäisches Büro für Erwachsenenbildung)
decided upon at the General Assembly of November 28th 1958, Marly le Roi, France.

ARTICLE 1:

The European Bureau of Adult Education (hereafter referred to as "The Bureau") is established as a clearing-house and centre of co-operation to further exchange of persons, experiences, methods and techniques, books and visual aids and general collaboration between all the existing diverse groups concerned with adult education in Europe.

ARTICLE 2:

The Bureau, an independent body established on the initiative of the European Centre of Culture, proposes to pursue its own work in the general spirit of the aims defined in article 3 of the Constitution of the E.C.C.

Its registered office is at the E.C.C. but its executive office may eventually be elsewhere.

ARTICLE 3:

Membership is open to all local, regional, national or international associations acceptable to three quarters of the delegates of the General Assembly, whose only or principal work is adult education and who accept the present constitution.

ARTICLE 4:

The organs on the Bureau shall be:

- a) the General Assembly
- b) the Executive Committee who direct the Secretariat.

ARTICLE 5:

The General Assembly shall be composed of one delegate from each of the associations affiliated to the Bureau.

Its functions shall be to elect the Executive Committee from among its own members, and to discuss the report of activities and the budget submitted to it by the Executive.

The General Assembly shall meet at least every two years.

ARTICLE 6:

a) The Executive Committee, elected by the General Assembly, shall be as representative as possible of the different parts of Europe and the different types of adult education practiced in Europe. Its task shall be to initiative, direct and control the work of the Secretariat and to appoint the General Secretary.

b) The Executive Committee shall meet at least once annually and whenever its elected chairman or one third of its members wish to call a meeting.

c) The Executive Committee shall nominate one of its members to a seat on the Governing Council of the E.C.C. The E.C.C. shall nominate a member to a seat on the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 7:

The Secretariat shall be under the direction of a General Secretary, appointed by the Executive Committee and responsible to it. The Bureau's program of activities, courses, exchanges, study-tours and conferences, information service and occasional publications, shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE 8:

The Bureau's income is derived from:

- a) Membership contributions from affiliated organisations fixed by the General Assembly;
- b) legacies, donations and subventions from private or public sources;
- c) from fees paid for services rendered.

ARTICLE 9:

Changes of this Constitution and the dissolution of the Bureau can only be decided upon by a two thirds majority of the General Assembly provided that six months notice has been given.

MEETING EUROPE - BELGIUM

Final Programme.

Saturday, July 18th, 1964

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| Afternoon | Arrival of Participants. |
| Evening | Participants and staff introduce themselves. |

Sunday, July 19th, 1964

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| Morning | 'Belgium today'. Forum-discussion by:
Mr. L. Claes, Mr. G. Eeckels, Mr. G. van Hoof and Mr. R. Pinon. |
| Afternoon | 'Belgium and Europe'. Lecture by Mr. M. Grammens.
Discussion. |
| Evening | Visit to the homes of staff members. |

Monday, July 20th, 1964

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| Morning | 'The Belgium Government'.
Lecture by Mr. F. Vandamme - discussion. |
| Afternoon | Visit to different functionaries.
Guided tour of the works of art in Bruges. |
| Evening | Free. |

Tuesday, July 21st, 1964:

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|-----------|---|
| Morning | 'The Economic Evolution of our Country'.
Survey of developments - Problems in a European context, by
Mr. G. Declercq. |
| Afternoon | Free. |
| Evening | Discussion with people of different positions in economic life. |

Wednesday, July 22nd, 1964: Excursion to Kortrijk

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| Morning | Visit to an industrial firm -reception. |
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Afternoon	Excursion to the region of Leiedal.
Evening	Visit to different persons of our society.

Thursday, July 23rd, 1964:

Morning	Evaluation of the visit to Brugge and Kortrijk.
Afternoon	'Introduction to Dutch Literature'. Lecture by Prof. W. Theys.
Evening	Diction of Dutch poetry by Mr. A. Van der Plaetse.

Friday, July 24th, 1964: Excursion to Antwerpen.

Morning	Visit to the Royal Museum of Art. Lecture by Prof. S. van der Brempt about Flemish expressionism.
Afternoon	Guided visit to the Port of Antwerpen. Visit to the exhibition of modern arts in the Osterrieth-house.
Evening	Free.

Saturday, July 25th, 1964:

Morning	Free or visit to Middelheim.
Afternoon	Return to Volkshogeschool 'De Blankaart'. Short visit to Brussel and Gent. Evaluation of the entire course.
Evening	Closing-dinner.

Sunday, July 26th, 1964:

Breakfast and departure.

MEETING EUROPE - GERMANY

Final Programme.

Saturday, August 14th, 1965

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| Afternoon | Arrival of participants at folk high school Barendorf. |
| Evening | Participants and staff introduce themselves. |

Sunday, August 15th, 1965

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| Morning | Free time for attending church service.
Official opening of the course. |
| Afternoon and Evening | Visit to German families (in small groups). |

Monday, August 16th, 1965

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| Morning | Lecture 'Germany today', followed by discussion. |
| Afternoon | Excursion to the town of Luneburg.
Reception at the town hall of Luneburg by the Burgomaster. |

Tuesday, August 17th, 1965

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| Morning | Lecture 'Education and training in the Federal Republic of Germany,' followed by discussion. |
| Afternoon | Excursion to the folk school Barendorf, district agricultural school Oedeme and the teachers' training college of Luneburg. |
| Evening | Discussion with German teachers. |

Wednesday, August 18th, 1965

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| Morning | 'Agriculture and industry in Northern Germany'.
Visit to a farm. |
| Afternoon | Visit to the folk high school Göhrde. |

Lecture 'Art and development of art in the Federal Republic of Germany after 1945', by Dr. Gerth Göhrde, followed by discussion.

Thursday, August 19th, 1965

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| Morning | Excursion to Hamburg.
Introduction to the town planning and town development. |
| Afternoon | Tour through the city. Visit to different youth service establishments. |
| Evening | Organ recital or 'Measure for Measure' at Luneburg Theatre. |

Friday, August 20th, 1965

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| Morning | Lecture 'Germany, Europe and the Atlantic Community', followed by discussion. |
| Afternoon | Excursion to the Zone Border with East Germany. |
| Evening | Films referring to the topic worked on in the morning. |

Saturday, August 21st, 1965

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| Morning | Final discussion in small groups. |
| Afternoon | Boat Ride on the river Elbe. |
| Evening | Social evening with students of the Goethe Institute in Luneburg. |

Sunday, August 22nd, 1965

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| Morning | Departure. |
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MEETING EUROPE - FINLAND

Final Programme.

Explanation of the underlying ideas of the programme

An examination of Finland as a part of the European scene, characteristics of Finnish life which have a bearing upon the policy towards Europe, and the extent to which continental influences affect the country.

Saturday, August 6th, 1966

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| 7 p.m. | Arrival of the participants at Oriveden Opisto.
Get-together evening: Welcoming address by the principal of the Folk High School, Mr. Suvanto.
Staff and participants introduce themselves.
What it is to be a foreigner in Finland (talk by Mr. Hart).
Some Finnish songs by Mrs. Rauhala.
Possibility for Sauna (Finnish bath). |
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Sunday, August 7th, 1966

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| Morning | Possibility to attend Lutheran service in Orivesi church.
Opening of the seminar (Mr. Martti Kojonen).
Introduction to the week's course. |
| Afternoon | 'Finland today'.
Lecture and discussion, Mr. Heikki Leskinen. |
| 5 p.m. | Visit to Finnish families in small groups. |

Monday, August 8th, 1966

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| Morning | 'New trends in European and Finnish public education', by Mr. R.H. Oittinen. |
| Afternoon | 'European aspects in Finnish literature'.
Lecture by Mr. Kai Laitinen.
'Finnish crafts and design'. Lecture and films, Mr. Jaakko Lintinen. |
| Evening | Sauna and tea. |

Tuesday, August 9th, 1966

- Full day excursion to Tampere city.
'Unknown Soldier' by Väinö Linna, in Pyyrikki's summer theatre.

Wednesday, August 10th, 1966

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| Morning | 'Finland in contemporary European history'.
Lecture and discussion, Mr. Martti Kojonen.
Hospitality of Orivesi commune, museum, church, vocational school, shoefactory (coffee) and Purnu. |
| Evening | Discussion groups on European cooperation. |

Thursday, August 11th, 1966

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| Morning | 'Finland between East and West'.
Lecture and discussion, Dr. H. Kirkinen. |
| 11.15 a.m. | Excursion to Mänttä. |
| Evening | Short films.
Coffee at Suvanto's home. |

Friday, August 12th, 1966

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| Morning | 'Finland's collaboration with Scandinavia and Europe in economic and commercial terms'.
Lecture and discussion, Mr. A. Wihtol. |
| Afternoon | 'Adult education in Europe and in Finland'. |

	Lecture and discussion, Dr. Kosti Huuhka.
Evening	Farewell party.
	Extension Tour

Saturday, August 13th, 1966

11.30 a.m.	Departure for Kangasala parish
11.15	a.m.Sight-seeing of Vehoniemi os, situated between two beautiful lakes.
1.05 p.m.	Departure from Kangasala Canal by motor ship of the Finnish Silver Line.
5.35 p.m.	Arrival in Hämeenlinna; dinner.
7.00 p.m.	Visit to Sibelius' Museum, short introduction to Sibelius and Finnish music, short concert.
	Sight-seeing in Hämeenlinna.
	Lodging at Aulanko youth hostel.

Sunday, August 14th, 1966

8.30 a.m.	Walk in Aulanko's park.
10.00 a.m.	Departure from Aulanko and Hämeenlinna for Lahti.
en route	Visit Hollola's medieval church and parish museum.
3.00 p.m.	Sight-seeing in Lahti.
	Free time in Lahti, maybe visit of some pieces of modern architecture, if possible visit to famous Finnish handicraftshop Vuorelma Oy.
7.00 p.m.	Departure for Helsinki.
9.00 p.m.	Arrival in Helsinki, lodging at Asuntola.

Monday, August 15th, 1966

9.00 a.m.	Sight-seeing in Helsinki.
12.00 noon	Lunch at the officebuilding of Helsinki city, which ends the extension tour.

MEETING EUROPE - GREAT BRITAIN

Final Programme.

Explanation of the underlying ideas of the programme

An examination of Britain as a part of the European scene, characteristics of British life which have a bearing upon the policy towards Europe, and the extent to which continental influences affect the country.

Saturday, July 16th, 1966

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Afternoon | Arrival of participants at Holly Royde College, Manchester. |
| Evening | Members of the course will meet the Director and the others members of the Holy Royde staff.
Talk on 'Europe's off-shore islands', by Donald Garside. |

Sunday, July 17th, 1966

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Morning | Tour by coach in the adjacent parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. |
| Afternoon | Afternoon tea with local British people who will take the members of the course to their homes. |

Monday, July 18th, 1966

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| Morning | Talks on:
'Political parties and policies', by C.F.H. Jessup, Staff Tutor, Holly Royde College.
'Britain's international role', by Eric Heffer, M.P., Member of British Delegation, Council of Europe. |
| Afternoon | Visit to Manchester Town Hall and reception by Lord Mayor of Manchester. |
| Evening | Free. |

Tuesday, July 19th, 1966

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Morning | Talks on:
'The British Commonwealth: its condition and influence', by Donald Garside. |
|---------|--|

'Trade with Europe', by C.G. Hely, B.A., Staff Tutor, Holly Royde College.

Afternoon

Visit to the City of Chester.

Evening

Manchester University Theatre for performance of 'Present Laughter' by Noel Coward.

Wednesday, July 20th, 1966

Whole day excursion to the Lake District.

Thursday, July 21st, 1966

Morning

Talks on:

'Educational changes in Britain', by Donald Garside.

'Social changes in Britain', by C.F.H. Jessup.

Afternoon

Visit to one of the following:

factory, museum, library, art gallery.

Evening

Free or invitation to a family.

Friday, July 22nd, 1966

Morning

Talks on:

'Towns new and renewed'.

'How European are the British?'

Several speakers will contribute.

Afternoon

Free for shopping etc.

Evening

Music and dancing.

Saturday, July 23rd, 1966

The course ends after breakfast.

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- Correspondence to/from Meeting Europe Courses Participants
- Correspondence to/from Sponsoring Bodies
- General Correspondence
- Miscellaneous Materials concerning Meeting Europe Courses
- including
 - course programmes
 - information and other recruiting materials
 - handouts
 - lists of participants
- Newspaper Clippings

EUROPEAN BUREAU OF ADULT EDUCATION ARCHIVES (EBAEA) in Dutch National Archives, Utrecht, The Netherlands

[The following EBAE materials are located in Box Numbers: 42,48, 53, 64, 76, 82, 84, 87, 88, 89, 90, 98, and 99.]

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- Executive Committee: Minutes
- General Assembly: Minutes
- Meeting Europe Courses Records including
 - Applications for Courses
 - Correspondence to/from Financial Sponsors

- Correspondence to/from National Course Organizers
- Correspondence to/from Participants
- Course Folders & Other Information Materials
- Evaluation Sheets
- Final Reports, 1963-1966
- Miscellaneous Files
- Seminar and Conference Files
- Course Leaders' Reports, 1963-1970

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